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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1333

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BULGARIA

DAILY CARRIES INTERVIEW WITH ROMANIA'S CORNELIU MANESCU

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 24 Nov 76 p 1, 3 AU

[Interview with Corneliu Manescu, deputy chairman of the Romanian Socialist Unity Front, on 22 November by OTECHESTVEN FRONT reporter Al. Nachev]

[Text] The visit of the Romanian Socialist Front delegation led by Corneliu Manescu, the Front first deputy chairman to Bulgaria has ended. At Sofia Airport the delegation was cordially seen off by Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council; Angel Tsvetkov, Lalyu Ganchev and Angel Shishkov, secretaries of the National Council, and by Romanian Ambassador to Bulgaria Trofin Simedrea.

Shortly before the delegation's departure, Al. Nachev, a representative of the editorial office, met Corneliu Manescu and asked him to kindly answer the following questions:

--How do you appraise the results of the visit of your delegation?

--Which aspect of the many-sided Fatherland Front's activity has mostly impressed you?

--Under the conditions of mutual cooperation and exchange of experience, which form of the Fatherland Front's many-sided activity in your opinion could also be applied to the Socialist Unity Front?

Here are the answers which Comrade Manescu was so kind as to give:

1. Our delegation is returning home with best impressions of your beautiful country. We had fruitful talks with Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council; Vladimir Bonev, chairman of the National Assembly; and, only a few hours ago, with Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee. These talks were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. These talks were for us a valuable exchange of positive experience in building a socialist society. Our meeting with Fatherland Front workers in Kazanluk, Stara Zagora and in Plovdiv were actually held in the same spirit too.

As of the very first day of our arrival in Sofia we were impressed by the great changes in your capital. Our impression of the other towns we visited is also the same. The changes that have occurred in the socio-cultural life and also in improving the living standards of the Bulgarian people are particularly significant.

The Fatherland Front has greatly contributed to building socialism in the country under the leadership of the BCP and this makes us, as Socialist Front workers, very happy.

Our delegation and the Fatherland Front workers with whom we exchanged experiences contratulated ourselves on the results in cooperation achieved between the two fraternal fronts. At the same time, we also established that there are realistic possibilities for further developing this cooperation. The intensification of our links in all spheres of life is to the benefit of the two fronts, two countries and two peoples and also contributes to the cause of socialism. This cooperation is all the more necessary considering that the tasks of the Fatherland Front and of the Socialist Unity Front are similar. The two fronts aim at the same task--to coordinate the efforts of the people for the implementation of the party decisions and of the state plan on the socioeconomic development of our respective countries.

In conclusion, I would like to say that our delegation is very pleased with the results of its visit to Bulgaria.

2. The Fatherland Front is carrying out a very rich and meaningful activity. We had the opportunity to acquaint ourselves with its participation in the social management in the towns, in expanding socialist democracy and in public control activity. Along with this, we also saw the various approaches which the Fatherland Front applies in the ideological-educational work with the people in various town quarters. We were also greatly impressed by the Fatherland Front's contribution to resolving economic problems. This is why I cannot single out any particular aspect of its activity. This activity is systematic and constant, and thus it plays a major role in the country life. This actually is perhaps what most impressed me.

3. The mutual exchange of positive experiences in our work is a major component of our cooperation. Everywhere we had the opportunity to study in detail the work of the Fatherland Front workers, their care for the successful fulfillment of the 5-year plan and also the assistance which they were rendering for solving the major problems of the people. We convinced ourselves of their high spirits, of their willpower to fight the shortcomings and to improve as much as they can the material and cultural standards of the working people's life. This aspect of the Fatherland Front organizations' activity deserves special attention. Many of the forms of work of the Fatherland Front are of interest to the Socialist Unity Front.

In conclusion, I would like to greet through the Fatherland Front newspaper all Fatherland Front workers.



## BULGARIA

ARMY ORGAN CARRIES ARTICLE BY GDR ADMIRAL WERNER

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Nov 76 p 3 AU

[Article by Admiral Waldemar Verner, SED Central Committee member, deputy minister of GDR national defense and head of the Main Political Administration of the GDR National People's Army: 'The Congress Assignment Is: Great Military Power and Combat-Readiness.

[Text] The Ninth SED Congress, which took place in May 1976, assigned a responsible task to the National People's Army. Its essence is as follows: To loyally defend the social system and peaceful life of the citizens of the GDR and the states of the socialist community against any attempt made by imperialism's aggressive forces. This task is to be implemented by firm and unshakable combat fraternity with the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies. The struggle for a great military power and combat-readiness of our armed forces is an expression of our workers' class will--to successfully and fully complete their historical mission of further construction of the developed socialist society in the GDR. This struggle will create the necessary preconditions for the gradual transition to communism, will contribute to the guarantee of security and peace and will fulfill the ceaseless obligation for the defense of the socialist motherland in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The further strengthening of the party's leading role in the armed forces is the key to implementing this important class assignment and is a source of power and strength for the National People's Army. This role is expressed in the clear instructions of the Central Committee, in the increasing power of the party basic organizations, in the exemplary work of the communists in the units and the military detachments as well as in the competent leading activity of the commanders and the political organs, as stressed by the ninth party congress. The better the communists of the National People's Army implement their political and military obligations with convincing words and deeds, the more the authority of the party will increase and the more the confidence of all military personnel will strengthen toward the revolutionary vanguard of the workers class and its policy, the creative power and initiative will develop in all areas of military life.

Development of the military cause permits no standstill.

The full effect of the political-moral, military, scientific, military-technical and organizational factors lends to the development of military power and combat-readiness an inner dynamism which increases and expands their limits. Therefore the task of increasing the combat-readiness of the communists in the army is first of all the especially high requirement for work with the personnel in all areas of military life: namely, in political work, combat preparation and the duty system.

Our greatest force is the consciousness of the masses. Clearer than ever, experience shows that the conscious and purposeful activity of the military personnel of the socialist armed forces and high combat-readiness have a great significance for the further advance of the forces of revolution and for implementation of the reduction of international tension. Guided by this, we place the ideological tempering of the soldiers, NCO's and officers in the center of the general political work.

The basic task of the party's political work is to arm the military personnel with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to clarify party policy, to develop their socialist thinking and activity, to mobilize them for implementation of the military tasks and to prepare them against any influence of the imperialistic and middle class ideology.

Thus, active military service is not only a school of military skill but simultaneously an important contribution to the communist education of the young generation. It forms the most central attitudes and qualities of the defenders of peace, socialism and communism: proletarian internationalism and social patriotism, friendship toward the Soviet Union, combat fraternity with the Soviet Army and all other fraternal armies, love for the working people, loyalty to the communist ideals, hatred of the class enemy and high revolutionary watchfulness.

Our task is to explain to everyone the historical impetus of the world revolutionary process and the constant increase of the socialist states' power in all areas, so that the world with its class contradictions will understand, see the class barricades and distinguish between socialism and capitalism. In addition, the task of the military personnel to thoroughly understand the historical mission of the socialist armies in solving the present class contradictions, so that they can realize their responsibility as soldiers of socialism in the new stage of the struggle, occupies an ever more important place. The fact that the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems became an important aspect of international relations requires of the forces of peace to be stronger than those imperialist circles which prepare for war.

The imperialist policy today contradictorily combines elements of realistic policy and attempts to hinder the decrease of international tension and the further conduct of the policy of peaceful coexistence, or to misuse them.

In connection with the unceasing strengthening of the military power of the Warsaw pact countries and the deep crisis of the capitalist system, the imperialists are attempting more and more to develop a broad strategy against social progress and for the annihilation of socialism. They are increasing their armament, conducting a literal campaign for forging the policy of peaceful coexistence and the use of ideological diversion. They particularly rely on anticommunism and anti-Sovietism with the aim of penetrating the socialist states and their armed forces. There is even the danger that the aggressive forces will seek in war the way out of their crisis.

All this requires of us not to decrease our watchfulness and to constantly increase the military power of socialism through strengthening the military power and combat-readiness of the fraternal armies.

We are implementing our assigned tasks of defending socialism in indestructible combat fraternity with the Soviet Army and its navy as well as with the other fraternal armies. Therefore Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee General Secretary, stressed at the ninth party congress the responsibility of the National People's Army for the collective defense of socialism, which requires a new degree of consciousness connected with the community and closeness of the armed forces of the socialist countries.

Armed with the theoretical wealth, strategic orientation and the reassurance of the practical experience of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Ninth SED Congress and the recent congresses of the parties of the fraternal socialist countries, we are optimistically and purposefully undertaking new and larger tasks. The communists of the National People's Army will not spare their efforts to increase the military power and combat-readiness of our armed forces and will give everything to guarantee the defense of socialism and communism.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

MINISTER OF INTERIOR SPEAKS ON NEW PEOPLE'S MILITIA LAW

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Nov 76 p 3

[Interview with Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs: "In the Interest of the People, With the Help of the People"]

[Text] The National Assembly is discussing and ratifying the Law Governing the People's Militia. The representative of RABOTNICHESKO DELO has asked Dimitur Stoyanov, the minister of internal affairs, to talk about questions related to the new law.

Question: What has necessitated the passage of the Law Governing the People's Militia? What is its significance?

Answer: The necessity of passing a new People's Militia Law is determined by the diversity of the general complex of essential quantitative and qualitative changes which have occurred in the entire system of our social life during the years of people's power.

Under the leadership of the BCP, and in consistently following its April course, over the last two decades our people have achieved noteworthy successes in all areas of socialist construction. Positive changes have also occurred in the functions and competence of the state bodies. In recent years, on the basis of a scientific study of these processes, the BCP has carried out enormous work to improve the integrated system of social administration. The People's Militia which is part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVR] cannot lag behind the overall development trend of the state bodies of increasing their activity at the present stage.

The previous People's Militia Ukase which was approved in 1955 did not meet the new conditions and responsible tasks. The Ukase did not completely regulate the activities of the militia, and certain of the provisions did not assist sufficiently in improving its work. All of this, along with the provided measures for raising the responsibility and activity of the People's Militia, necessitated the creation of fuller legal regulation of its activities, and in accord with the actual situation, with our acquired experience, and with the experience of the Soviet Militia and those of the other countries in the socialist community.

The approved Law Governing the People's Militia is fully in the spirit of the party line of renewing and improving our legislation. This creates new guarantees for effective protection of the public and state system, and the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens and socialist organizations in full accord with the Bulgarian Constitution. The establishing precisely by law of the place, role, functions and tasks of the People's Militia which the party, the government and the people outline for it during the stage of building a developed socialist society will contribute to increasing the level of its work and the further establishing of it as a specialized state body within the system of social administration.

Question: In what direction and on what principles are the activities of the People's Militia based?

Answer: The People's Militia has always based its activities on the democratic principles inherent to a socialist state. And precisely these principles lie in the new law.

The basis of the activities of the People's Militia is the unswerving observance of socialist legality. The People's Militia does not tolerate the slightest deviations from the requirements of the law or the slightest infraction of the rights and interests of the citizens. It cannot be otherwise! Activity carried out in the name of the law is incompatible with its violation. By their conduct and actions and by their political and moral purity, the employees of the People's Militia should instill respect for communist power, and for the laws, principles and standards of our society. The law specifically points out that the prosecutor exercises the observance of legality in the acts and actions of the People's Militia and that for any violation of legality, its officials are responsible according to the laws of the land.

The officials of the People's Militia are obliged to observe the democratic principles for respecting the rights and freedoms of the citizens, their honor and dignity, and to respond promptly and sympathetically to their warnings, requests and complaints.

The law develops the principle that the People's Militia is to carry out its activities in the interests of the people and rely on the active support of the workers. The continuous broadening of socialist democracy creates real opportunities for the broader involvement of the workers and the public organizations in the struggle against crime and for preserving public order. More effective work is being done by the Volunteer worker detachments, the indoctrination centers at the place of residence, and the prevention councils under the enterprises.

The law defines as the basic direction in the activities of the People's Militia the prevention of crime and other antisocial actions and the indoctrination of the citizens in a spirit of mutual respect, the observance of social discipline and the conscientious fulfillment of the laws.

Question: On what basis are the relationships organized between the People's Militia and the people's councils, the Prosecutor's Office, the courts, the bodies of state and people's control, the financial control bodies and the other state and public bodies and organizations?

Answer: Under the leadership of the BCP Central Committee significant work has been done to improve the interaction of the People's Militia with the people's councils and the other state and public bodies and organizations. These activities are established by principle in accord with the laws and the party decisions.

The strengthening of public order and socialist legality requires a qualitatively new basis for the relationships of the People's Militia with the people's councils, in raising, on the one hand, the responsibility of the people's councils and their exactingness, control and help in regard to the People's Militia, and on the other, greater responsibility from the People's Militia for the local authorities. In their activities related to the maintaining of public order, in combating immoral actions, idleness, antisocial actions by juveniles and minors as well as social and natural calamities, the territorial divisions of the People's Militia are subordinate, as is envisaged in the law, to the appropriate people's councils and their executive committees.

The People's Militia is obliged to coordinate and improve its relationships with the Prosecutor's Office, the courts, state and people's control and the other specialized bodies for a consistent, comprehensive and effective struggle against crime and encroachments against socialist property, for protecting the rights and freedoms of the citizens, and for indoctrinating them in a spirit of conscious discipline.

The law envisages that the People's Militia is to work in close collaboration with the public bodies and organizations in the struggle against idleness, alcoholism and moral dissoluteness, and for providing them with active help in raising the efficiency of social control and for indoctrinating the workers in a spirit of observing the laws. An opportunity has been created for utilizing new forms for organizing and interacting with the Fatherland Front, the Komsomol, the trade unions, and other public bodies and organizations.

Question: What are the functions and basic tasks of the People's Militia during the stage of building a developed socialist society?

Answer: Under the leadership of the party and with the help of the workers, from the very first day of its creation, our militia has successfully carried out the specific functions entrusted to it. Under the conditions of a complex domestic and international situation, it has participated directly in the struggle against the class enemy for the victory and establishment of a new social system. The People's Militia has become established as a dependable guard for the victories of the motherland and for the socialist legal order.

The decisions of the historic April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee of 1956 has played an enormous role and been of particular significance for the activities of the People's Militia. The party and the First Secretary of the

Central Committee, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, personally have shown exceptional concern for the further strengthening and establishing of the MVR, including the People's Militia, as a modern state body, for the skillful development of the initiative and creative forces of the personnel, for broadening ties with the people, for developing friendship and cooperation with the fraternal Soviet bodies, and for strict observance of socialist legality.

The Decision of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee of 9 December 1974 concerning an improvement in the activities of the People's Militia, under the conditions of building a developed socialist society has become a basic political document of exceptional significance for the present and future work of the militia.

The basic tasks of the People's Militia at the present stage, as defined by the law, are: the preserving of public order, protection of the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens and socialist organizations, the protection of socialist and personal property, the guarding of institutions, political and other organizations, and the prompt prevention and discovery of crimes and antisocial actions.

The chief direction in the struggle against crime and other violations of the law is preventive activities. This most fully meets the fundamental interests of our society and the concerns of the party for establishing a socialist way of life. It is also a criterion for the effectiveness of the work done by the militia bodies, and an expression of their true humaneness, concern and trust in a person who is a worker of socialism. The law regulates the tasks which are aimed at strengthening preventative activities of the People's Militia and its warning function.

The foreseen obligations of the People's Militia bodies are an expression of its highly humane character. The employees of the People's Militia are obliged to assist other state bodies and officials when it is against the law for them to prevent the fulfillment of their obligations; to provide immediate aid to persons who were the victim of a crime or involved in an accident, as well as persons who are in a helpless state in public places; with natural or social calamities to participate in the rescuing of persons and properties; to organize the protection of unguarded public or private property, and to provide aid in carrying out quarantine measures.

The obligations of the People's Militia bodies have also been defined of taking immediate measures with the presence of the evidence of a crime or other antisocial acts.

We would like to stress that the high principles, a feeling of high public and personal duty and responsibility with which the employees of the People's Militia must carry out these highly responsible tasks are needed even more at present, in light of the ideas given in the report of Comrade T. Zhivkov at the Plenum of July 1976. From the plenum's decision stem the obligations of the People's Militia to erect an insuperable barrier against the attempts to violate the Leninist principles of national economic management, against the unhealthy desire to live at the expense of society, and against parasitism and a Philistine consumer attitude toward life.

BULGARIA^

# INDUCTEES WARNED AGAINST FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 Nov 76 p 2

[Article by Col Stefan Kostov: "Be Vigilant"]

[Text] The defense of our socialist motherland is the supreme duty of every Bulgarian citizen. The person who cherishes his homeland, his fatherland, the person who loves his people and our socialist fatherland, is completely dedicated to the people's interests and is always ready to protect them at the price of his blood and life.

For 1,300 years the Bulgarian has sacredly observed this sacred legacy of his fathers and grandfathers.

At present, we live in free, peaceful days. They are days of labor rivalry, of gigantic socialist construction and a spiritual upsurge. But our history teaches us to be keenly vigilant. Vigilance is the primary command of the supreme duty to the motherland. Our great successes enrage our enemies, and they spare neither forces nor means to carry out their perfidious plans.

Everyone knows that the struggle between socialism and capitalism is a struggle of the new against the old, and of working mankind against its old exploiter. This is a struggle of life and death. The dark reactionary forces of imperialism are endeavoring to turn the wheel of history back. For achieving their aim, they make active use of all possible forms. They create intelligence centers and networks, monitoring stations and equipment, reconnaissance satellites and laboratories, and highly paid espionage agents and agencies for the collecting and processing of the needed political, economic and particularly military information. Thousands of eyes are watching and thousands of ears are listening. Many bodies produce evil slander and fabrications, they disseminate them over the radio waves and the press, in order to corrupt the awareness and conduct of the socialist worker. The U. S. CIA alone employs over 15,000 highly trained intelligence agents who study and generalize information received from their more than 200,000 spies working in all corners of the world.

Foreign intelligence has focused its chief attention on our armed forces. They are interested in the state, training, weaponry and combat readiness of the army, the political morale and the defense capability of our nation. In



the military area there are no things which are unimportant or of no interest to foreign intelligence. All of this requires that each soldier show high revolutionary vigilance.

The soldiers and commanders must always remember that information concerning the organization, location, number, training, weaponry and supply of the army, military production and scientific achievements which can be applied in military affairs, and all written and other documents relating to national defense represent a military secret. All troop life in the barracks, in the classrooms, the firing ranges and testing grounds are of vital interest for foreign spies, "innocent" tourists, businessmen and well-paid agents.

Instances come to mind when the cars of such "innocent" tourists accidentally "break down" next to barracks regions and other military installations, when by "mistake" they have attempted to enter training grounds and testing ranges, and even into barracks and equipment parking territories, and only due to the sharp eye of the sentries and other officials have they been prevented from carrying out their plans.

The vigilant standing of the guard and interior duty guarantees the peaceful sleep and rest of the soldiers and the protecting of military equipment, weapons and material. The vigilant sentries have never allowed the enemy to carry out its aims.

Recently a vigilant sentry from the squad where officer Vatev serves prevented such a perfidious plan and forced the evil-doer to surrender with his hands up.

A good source for collecting the necessary information can be found in the talkative and gossiping persons, that is, those persons who want to show that they are well acquainted with military questions, that they have courageously overcome the many hardships of military life, and freely tell their listeners or write in letters to their friends and relatives concerning their life in the barracks. In this way they become easy prey for foreign intelligence. We must never forget the folk saying: "Don't tell your friend what the enemy should not know."

We must never forget the valorous behavior of Comrade Ivanka Terieva when confronted with the bestial Nazi agents in June 1944. To the cruel beatings and inhuman tortures, she responded with a strong will, firm confidence in the coming victory, and with clenched teeth, she enraged the fascist monsters with her silence. Thus, in order to save her comrades, she preferred a heroic death over base treason.

The behavior of Comrade E. Georgiev from the village of Khrishteni remains indelible in my memory. Having decided at any price to keep a clear conscience, to keep his Communist Youth League oath with honor and to remain faithful to his comrades and the struggle, he stoically endured the cruel torture and, pretending to be mute, never uttered a single word. Neither the butchers nor the special police physicians discovered this trick of my comrade and were unable to gain any information.

The example of thousands of heroes who gave their life for the defense of the motherland, and the glorious names of the heroes of our distant and recent history teach us to keep their legacy clean and unsullied. Their heroic feat appeals to each soldier to be vigilant. With high military preparedness, sharp eyes, courage and cool-headedness, to promptly thwart every attempt of the enemy to acquire information of interest to him, and to desecrate our motherland.

10272

CSO: 2200

## BULGARIA

### CHIEF PROSECUTOR CRITICIZES TOLERANT ATTITUDE TOWARD INDOLENCE

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Nov 76 p 3

[Article by Ivan Vachkov, chief prosecutor of Bulgaria: "A Life at the Expense of Others"]

[Text] On 5 October, we published the questions of Comrade Georgi Kalchev sent to the chief prosecutor of the republic concerning idle persons and those who live at the expense of society.

The questions cause concern not only for Comrade Georgi Kalchev, but also for all industrious and conscientious people who have come across those who live at the expense of others.

Our people has always disdained idleness and a parasitic way of life. This feeling of the people has also been reflected in our laws, and they contain sufficient measures against idlers, swindlers, speculators and all of those who profit at the expense of others and society.

The Punitive Code envisages severe punishments for encroachments against public and personal property, for swindlers and speculators, and for all persons who criminally profit at the expense of society. Article 329 of the Code demands the punishment of deprivation of liberty up to 2 years and compulsory residence or with corrective labor for persons who for an extended time do not engage in socially useful labor, or who receive unearned income by prohibited or immoral means. The Law Governing the Property of the Citizens requires the confiscation of received unearned income by the state. By the Decree No 136 of the Council of Ministers of 1974 in Bulgaria a system has been set up for providing employment and vocational training for young persons who are not in school and not employed. The decree obliges the people's councils to impose a fine up to 200 leva on all citizens and officials who do not fulfill the obligations established in the decree.

Consequently, the problem does not consist in the fact that the laws are not sufficiently effective, but rather whether the necessary is being done for their effective application. Laws produce results only when they are applied precisely and uncompromisingly.

The struggle against criminal encroachments upon social and personal property is being waged firmly and consistently. The laws are applied strictly and the proper punishments are imposed on those apprehended in such crimes. However, this is not the case with the question of the struggle against idleness and the receiving of unearned income.

The fulfillment of the enforceable enactments related to indolence is entrusted primarily to the Committee of Labor and Wages, the okrug state labor inspectorates and the labor force bureaus. But along with them, definite obligations are also given to the people's councils, the leaders of the enterprises and institutions, the public organizations, the prosecutor's office and the courts.

Recently the prosecutor's office completed a check on how the 136th Decree of the Council of Ministers is being carried out, as this is the basic enforceable enactment for combating indolence. It has been established that there is a strange difference. In some okrugs, the decree is carried out precisely and uncompromingly with the nonworking able-bodied persons being investigated and registered, suitable work is offered to them, and penalties are imposed when the conditions for this are present. In other okrugs, responsibility is rarely sought or not sought at all.

During the same period, in Kurdzhali Okrug, 106 persons were fined under the 136th Decree, 101 in Vidin Okrug, 56 in Silistra, 50 in Smolyan, and 45 in Shumen, but in Burgas and Plovdiv okrugs no fines were imposed. In the last two okrugs, the prosecutor's offices did not show the necessary tenacity to send them the information on the idlers in order for them to demand responsibility under the Punitive Code. Perhaps in these places the problem has been completely solved and there is no one to hold responsible for idleness or for violating the decree. Quite on the contrary! The statistical data from the last census show that in terms of the number of nonworking persons from 16 to 29 years of age, these two okrugs are in first place in the country.

There is a similar situation with the application of the Law Governing the Property of Citizens in line with the confiscation of unearned income in favor of the state. The confiscation is carried out by the court upon the request of the prosecutor's office, but only if the latter has received materials collected according to a certain procedure from commissions which have been specially instituted for this purpose. During the first 6 months of the year, on the basis of the materials received from the commissions, the prosecutor's office submitted suits for the confiscation of unearned income by the state totaling 850,000 leva. But here again the differences among the individual okrugs are very great. While in Sofia, Khaskovo, Smolyan, Pernik and other okrugs, the prosecutor's offices have received materials during the first 6 months, in Gabrovo, Yambol, Tolbukhin and Silistra okrugs, action has not been brought on the materials received from the commissions in 1976. This difference is also due to subjective factors and to weaknesses in the activities of the bodies which are entrusted with the carrying out of the law.

I am asked what prevents the bodies entrusted with defending state and social interests from exercising its rights in this area uncompromisingly. I would say: Nothing!

In Bulgaria there is work for everyone and there is no unemployment which would cause concern for us, and we actually are in need of a labor force. Rights have been granted to the people's councils to fine the leaders of institutions, enterprises and schools who do not promptly notify the labor force bureaus of released employees, workers or students, or who refuse to hire the young men and women sent to them. Administrative measures can also be taken against the young persons who do not participate in socially useful labor, when indoctrinational measures do not produce results. There are provisions for fining the parents of minors who do not fulfill their obligations under the 136th Decree. There are sufficiently objective prerequisites for successfully combating idleness. For this reason, it must be said that the presence of idle persons in Bulgaria is due primarily to factors of a subjective character.

The problem is underestimated by a number of bodies which have specific obligations under the Decree. Concern is not shown for the irretrievable harm which idleness causes to the youth, how close this is to a parasitic and criminal way of life, what harm is caused by this to our economy and socialist social relationships, and to the concern for creating a new man. For this reason, the struggle against idleness remains in the background, and it is not viewed as a social or professional obligation.

The conscious nonfulfillment of enforceable enactments also contributes to idleness. There are enterprise leaders which do not provide information on the discharge of an employee, in order to hire for a vacant position their own choice and not the one which would be sent to the enterprise by the labor force bureau. The school principals do the same thing in order to prevent it from becoming known that the number of students dropping out is high. In turn, the sanctioning bodies very frequently do not carry out their right in order not to spoil their relations with the violators who usually hold leading positions.

Certainly, here also one could speak of the poor organization of the work, the absence of interaction, tolerance, unprincipled friendship and kinship ties, and of the compromises with legality. But there is also something else. Idleness flourishes only at the expense of others. There can be no idlers if no one provides them with a means of support.

A few families in Bulgaria continue by their negative aspects to be that micro-environment which is the cause for the incorrect development of the personality of juveniles. There are parents who are guided by a selfish desire to receive from society more than they give to it. They implant this desire in their children as well. Everyone knows of instances where the parents begin to "fix things" for their children very early, they indulge all their whims, they surround them with luxury and opulence, they do not accustom them to work, they raise them to be only consumers and not producers of social goods. And if

such sons and daughters do not go to the university, the parents do not send them to work, but continue to take care of them as loafers. From such families come many parasites who in the bars, cafes, and sweet shops develop a philosophy of the beauty of human life without labor. There are very isolated instances when social responsibility is demanded, and even fewer when penalties are imposed on a parent because he has made his child into an idler or loafer.

The July Plenum noted that it cannot be considered normal that a consumer psychology is developing among a certain portion of the younger generation and which seeks to employ its forces and abilities outside the main sphere of life, material production. At present the problem of the labor and moral indoctrination of the youth is emerging with new force. However, for this the efforts must be focused on a decisive improvement in the vocational and technical training of the young people, and on developing in them such labor and moral virtues which will encourage even more participation of the youth in socialist construction.

The legislation must be improved in this sense. At the same time, all of the state bodies as well as the social organizations must be concentrate on the idlers and those persons who live at the expense of society, to surround them with intolerance, and to uncompromisingly apply the state and sociopolitical sanctions against them.

As the body for providing legality, the Prosecutor's Office has many tasks. Its possibilities for carrying out its responsibility have not been completely exhausted. The July Plenum obliges us to raise exactingness. For the prosecutor's bodies this means stricter supervision of the fulfillment of the enforceable enactments concerning idlers and wasters, and greater self-exactingness in our own activities.

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CSO: 2200

## BULGARIA

### PARTY DAILY DISCUSSES OIL SHALE DEPOSITS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Nov 76 p 2 AU

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO's own report: "Oil Shale in Our Country"]

[Text] In recent years the question of oil shale has been more and more frequently raised among geologists. Some people call oil the raw material of the future. Are they right?

Oil shale is sedimentary rocks containing inorganic substances. The world oil deposits are tremendous. The more recent data show that they amount to approximately 6.5 billion tons. After energotechnical processing of the deposits, oil, gas and inorganic substances are produced. Whereas the proven oil reserves at present amount to 91.5 billion tons, the oil contained in the oil shale is estimated at 250 billion tons. Oil can be used as power fuel and, after the processing of the secondary products, it can be used as liquid fuel, as well as raw material for the chemical industry and others. The gas, which has approximately 5,000 to 6,000 kilo calories per cubic meter, is used as power fuel in thermoelectric power stations. The inorganic residue is a valuable raw material for the production of cement, light building materials, and metals.

Research, prospecting and preparations for the technical processing of oil shale in our country have begun on ever-expanding scale. The Directorate for the Development of the Oil Shale Industry attached to the Ministry of Mineral Resources has formulated a program to comprehensively exploit oil shale. In our country considerable oil shale deposits have been opened in various okrugs.

One of the oldest deposits is in the so-called "Krasava" region in Pernik Okrug. The preliminary research work has already been completed. Now technological research is being done and the economic feasibility of exploiting such deposits is being studied. In the Bobov Dol area the efforts of geologists and experts are aimed at an exact determination of the existing oil shale deposits containing a higher oil content. Preparatory work has started in connection with the prospecting and research of deposits in the Pirin Basin also.

Along with the intensive geological research, laboratory and semi-industrial research is being carried out for a comprehensive exploitation of oil shale.

## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

**PEKO TAKOV ACTIVITIES**--On 25 November Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member participated in a meeting of Pleven Okrug party committee. The plenum dealt with some unsolved agrarian problems, among them the uncompleted harvesting of corn in the okrug. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 25 Nov 76 AU]

**GRISHA FILIPOV IN BURGAS**--Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, visited on 25 November Burgas Okrug, which he represents at the National Assembly. He visited various industrial plants and met with the workers of Burgas. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Nov 76 AU]

**SHIPBUILDING DEVELOPMENT**--Sofia, November 26 (BTA)--Two 29,000-ton ships for Romania and a 38,000-ton bulk cargo ship for Poland are being completed now at the "George Dimitrov" shipyards at Varna. Another nine vessels of various tonnages and types are to be completed by the end of one year. By the end of December six ships--5,000-ton river-and-sea tankers, 2,150-ton tankers of the "Lenanefh" type and 1,500-ton bunkering ships--will have been built at the Ruse shipyard. Two iron-and-concrete floating workshops are being built for the Soviet Union at the Burgas shipyard. More than half of the ships of the Bulgarian merchant fleet have been built in this country. [Sofia BTA in English 0810 GMT 26 Nov 76 AU]

**BULGARIAN-INDIAN COOPERATION**--The two Indian satellites ("Sectaver 2) which India is expected to launch into outer space in 1977 will be equipped with Bulgarian apparatus. Bulgaria will also provide Indian scientists with opportunities to study the night sky. This is one of the basic elements of the cooperation between the Central Laboratory for Outer Space Research at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Indian National Laboratory of Physics. Other spheres in which the specialists of the two countries will cooperate is in the use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes and in agriculture, pedology and the food industry. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Nov 76 p 2 AU]



JAKES DISCUSSES LENIN-STYLE WORK

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 20, Sep 76 pp 6-8

[Article by Milos Jakes, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission]

[Text] The application of the Lenin-style work under the conditions of developed socialism and for the fulfillment of the complex and concentrated tasks prescribed by the 15th CPCZ Congress has special significance, because it is an effective weapon for attaining new successes and victory in socialist construction. The 15th congress of our party emphasized this need with great urgency. The experiences of the CPSU as well as of our party demonstrate that the level of management and organizational work of the party in all sectors of social life depend on the adoption and consistent application of Lenin-style work. The heart of Lenin-style work is creative activity combined with a scientific approach to all social processes, to which subjectivism and formalism are alien.

These ideas were stressed in a broader context from the platform of the 15th CPCZ Congress and at the same time it was emphasized that the further building of socialist society and the tasks that our development impose on us are large and complex, that quite legitimately demands are increasing, primarily on the party itself, on the quality of its work, unity and ability to act and on the implementation of its leading role. In other words, further successes of socialist development are connected to a further increase in the level of management and organizational work which requires all levels of party construction to consistently apply the Lenin-style work.

The Lenin-style work, as emphasized at the 15th party congress, requires the consistent observance of party statutes, the principles of democratic centralism, intensifying internal party democracy, observing collectivity, developing criticism and self-criticism, consolidating comradely relations, developing control activity and creating an atmosphere which has no place for formalism, intrigue, forming of cliques, and subjectivism.

Its application requires the consistent advocacy of a scientific approach, an integral part of which is class character and party-mindedness. It is dictated by the very essence and character of the Marxist-Leninist party, by its program and the tasks of the new society, because socialism is the first social order in the history of mankind which did not emerge spontaneously but rather on the basis of the scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the conscious actions of the popular masses headed by the working class under the leadership of the communist party. Conditions were created in order to not only recognize but consciously utilize the objective laws of social development. Even Engels pointed out that in consequence of revolutionary conversion of capitalism into socialism, "anarchy in social production will be replaced by planned, conscious organization ... only then will people be creating their history themselves with full consciousness, only then will they have social motives which they activated, and largely and in a constantly increasing measure even the effects which they wanted ...." History has confirmed to the fullest extent the correctness of these ideas. The emergence, existence and experience of the USSR and other countries with socialist societies as well as developments in the world are proof of this and confirm the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Scientific communism differs from all preceding social theories by the fact that, as stated by V. I. Lenin, ... "in the analysis of an objective situation, an objective development, an absolutely scientific soberness splendidly combines with a firm recognition of the significance of revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative forces, the revolutionary initiative of the masses." Only the Marxist-Leninist party can guarantee this approach. Therefore, it is not by chance that the conclusion of the 15th party congress emphasizes "that the role of the Marxist-Leninist party is further expanding at this stage, demands are increasing on the work of all communists, on their maturity, on the ability of party organs and organizations to assert the leading role of the party ...."

These demands can be realized only by the consistent application of Lenin's norms of party life as a condition for the unity and initiative of the party as well as a responsible approach of party organs, organizations and all communists to the fulfillment of tasks. The complexity, demands and broad range of our tasks call for a corresponding level of managerial and organizational work so that the basic party organizations and okres and kraj committees could develop their activities much more purposefully and consistently assert the leading role of the party within the area of their jurisdiction. In our party activities we must not allow half-heartedness, because it undermines the importance and role of the party, it derogates from party resolutions as well as the party line. As stated in the words of the 15th party congress, "it is a question of working consistently according to the principles of democratic centralism, of approaching the solution to all problems fundamentally and creatively, of being demanding toward oneself as well as others, of suffering no discrepancy between work and deed, no subjectivism or formalism."

An integral component of democratic centralism is the development of internal party democracy. Its intent is to make possible, in a given situation, the active participation of all members of the party in the preparation as well as implementation of party policy. Without internal democracy, just as without

conscious discipline, the communist party cannot successfully carry out its leading role. Violating the principle of democratic centralism, of internal party democracy, for whatever reasons, weakens the creative energy of the party and its unity. The experiences of the crisis period of 1968-1969 fully confirmed this. Democratic centralism makes possible and requires, as was emphasized in the 15th CPCZ Congress, that all organizations and communists under specific conditions in plants and jobs actively and creatively carry out the policy of the party and the resolutions of leading party organs. This depends on one of the most important features of the Lenin-style work, that is the ability of party organizations and communists to actively influence the masses of workers, to develop through constant contact with them their initiative and activity, to remove all manifestations of administration and bureaucratism, and always be present in the front lines of an ongoing struggle for socialism. Only by the closest association of the party with the workers, by the ability to tell the people the truth and to make use of their initiative can the difficulties and shortcomings be overcome and the bold tasks of building socialism be fulfilled.

In this connection it should be noted that in the interests of carrying out the conclusions of the 15th party congress it is necessary to refer to the conclusions of the November session of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1974 which indicated the large reserves in our party work. The concern is, as emphasized in the November session of the CPCZ Central Committee, "that all party organizations live a full-blooded life. That is not possible, however, where collective leadership is being violated, where forcing methods are being used, where the atmosphere for developing criticism and self-criticism is lacking, where uncommunist attitudes toward criticism survive, where criticism is suppressed directly or indirectly, where comradely relations among communists are lacking and where certain comrades even think that only they represent the party. It is just such conditions that are fertile ground for forming of cliques, covering up shortcomings and indifference toward what is going on."

Criticism and self-criticism are precisely the indispensable tools for the successful fulfillment of tasks and the overcoming of deficiencies as well as for the effective training of cadres. It never has been and cannot be a matter of some kind of campaign, but, on the contrary, a permanent method of party work. Therefore, throughout its history, our party has accorded an important place to criticism and self-criticism. By analyzing the results of its activities and not being afraid to admit the shortcomings and errors which were committed "yesterday" it was able to overcome them and learned to avoid them "today and tomorrow." This kind of approach is characteristic also of the Edification from the Crisis Development which contributed to a considerable extent to the successes which the party achieved after its 14th congress.

Criticism and self-criticism are one of the principles of the internal development of the communist party. Communists must not remain silent about their weaknesses but must criticize them openly in order to overcome them more rapidly and decisively. We all know that our party exerted great efforts after the 14th CPCZ Congress to revive the Leninist principles in the life of the party and of society, so that criticism and self-criticism should fulfill their mission.

In the report presented by Comrade Gustav Husak at the 15th congress it is stated, "The first responsibility of party organs and organizations is to create an atmosphere in which criticism and self-criticism are not anything unusual, an atmosphere in which critical challenges prevail, which has no place for a false spirit of fellowship and conciliation ...." The exercise of criticism and self-criticism must become characteristic of every party organ, every party organization, every member of the party. It is necessary to deal harshly with those who suppress criticism or persecute the critics by various covert means. It is necessary to act with all determination against such persons, no matter what positions they hold, as is required by the party statutes, even to dismissal from their positions and expulsion from membership in the party.

An important requirement for implementing the Lenin-style work is the principle of collectivity which is the most effective weapon against subjectivism and guarantees that the theoretical knowledge of the system of the revolutionary movement and the experiences of the masses will be considered in the formation of the party line as well as specific resolutions and in making decisions on important questions, including cadre questions. Consequently, we do not interpret collectivity only in the narrow sense, such as making decisions in elected organs, but rather as the participation of practically all members of the party in making decisions and carrying out the party line.

The requirement for collectivity, however, must not be interpreted to mean the discussion of every minor detail in a so-called collective manner or that party organs should make decisions for economic and state officials and thus reduce their personal responsibility and authority, limiting the scope of their initiative directed toward the fulfillment of adopted tasks. Once a party line is outlined or specific resolutions adopted their execution then depends on the activity and initiative not only of member and non-party masses, but an indispensable task belongs directly to the organizers, to the leading economic, state and other workers.

The consistent application of the principle of collectivity, primarily in basic party organizations, requires raising further the standards of member meetings. This is an important weapon against passivity, formality and subjectivism which are contrary to the intent of party work, to its efficiency.

One of the conditions for further consolidating collective leadership is systematic and purposeful work with the party aktiv and the preparation of officials of party organizations and communists in fulfilling prescribed tasks in all areas of social life. Above all it is necessary to work with the aktiv of chairmen and committee members of basic party organizations. Consistent work with these comrades will bear fruit, because it will be felt where specific decisions are made on implementing the party line. The party aktiv is the source of reliable information about the status of party organizations, about fulfillment of the party line and about the problems existing in plants, agricultural cooperatives, scientific institutions and offices as well as the opinions of party members and non-members about the policy of the party. On this basis it

is possible to offer organizations differential assistance and take advantage of good experiences and anticipate shortcomings.

Cadre policy and the selection, training and assignment of cadres are very important for the consistent application of the Lenin-style party work. The party realizes its leading role and assures the accomplishment of prescribed goals primarily by means of the cadres. Therefore it is necessary to consistently carry out resolutions about cadre and staff work which guarantees that responsible positions are occupied by honorable comrades dedicated to socialism, thoroughly prepared, capable organizers who know how to work with people. When we analyze many of our problems we see that their successful solution depends precisely on the level of management and the attitude of party members and workers in shops, plants, agricultural cooperatives, in scientific institutions, etc.

In the first place, correct cadre policy assures a high level of scientific management and organizational work of the party, its efficiency and good results. In addition, it makes it possible to consistently promote high demands and responsibility. This accounts for the urgency of the 15th CPCZ Congress requirement that cadres must be systematically trained and assigned according to requirements of the time, to struggle against subjectivism, complacency, convenience and petty bourgeois remnants.

In regard to training, the words of V. I. Lenin are still valid, words he emphasized more than once, that "Policy is a science and an art which does not fall from heaven, it will not fall into anyone's lap .... We must see to it that among us knowledge does not become a dead word or a popular phrase ... that knowledge really penetrates into the people's blood, that it becomes a fully integrated part of their life."

The CPCZ Central Committee emphasized more than once that a scientific approach in party work requires creative activity, initiative in work, the art of analyzing phenomena of the surrounding world, penetrating to the heart of the process, avoiding superficial judgments of things and events and drawing correct conclusions on the basis of the analysis of facts, determining developing tendencies, working out and prescribing optimal ways and means of solving problems. This calls for purposefulness, objectivity, specificity and systematization in our activity, perfecting methods and forms of work consistent with changes in objective circumstances. Nothing could be more damaging than to replace an objective situation with a subjectivistic judgment, to mistake wishes for fact. The Marxist, according to the words of V. I. Lenin, must use as the basis of his policy only exact and indisputably proven facts, thoroughly and extensively analyzed in all their complexity of interrelationships and developments. The 15th CPCZ Congress was conducted on this basis and that is why its conclusions met with a good response and the universal support of the working people.

Application of the Lenin-style work demands of party members and especially of party workers and leading officials high ideals, a responsible approach in fulfilling the tasks entrusted to them, a certain refined manner of negotiation,

patience, firmness and perseverance and the ability to teach the masses, but also to learn from the masses. It demands of all discipline and drawing proper conclusions regarding those who violate the norms of party life, morality and party and state discipline. As emphasized in the conclusions of the 15th party congress, the party has a single discipline, a single law that applies to all communists without regard to their merits and position and the party statutes constitute this law.

A very important component of the Lenin-style work is control. It is important that it be developed at the same time upward as well as downward, that is, along a guiding axis, and also to fully consider the opinions and suggestions of the workers, since participation of the masses in control is an integral component of socialist democracy. In control activity a critical role devolves on the responsible workers who cannot be carried away by only organizing meetings and conferences, preparing new resolutions and regulations, but must, first of all, control work, the results obtained, and strive to change words into deeds, so that control would contribute to the solution of prescribed tasks and the elimination of deficiencies. In order for control to have the proper effect and authority it must, first of all, be carried out by responsible leading workers who must regard it as an indispensable part of their management and organizational work.

It is very instructive for us that even the 25th CPSU Congress attributed great significance to the application of the Lenin-style work as a condition for successful party and state administration. It will be very important for the party aktiv to adopt the Lenin-style work to a broad degree in the practical activity of party organs and organizations and to implement it, because nothing could be worse than merely to talk about the Lenin-style work and then to continue in the old way.

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CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

# GEN HOFFMANN SPEAKS ON BORDER GUARD ANNIVERSARY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Dec 76 p 3-4 AU

[Speech by Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and GDR Minister of National Defense at a festive ceremony held in Berlin on 30 November to mark 30th anniversary of the GDR Border Guards]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends! Esteemed guests!

I have the special pleasure of greeting you on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the GDR border troops.

I am certainly speaking on behalf of all those present and particularly of the Border Guards if I send out very cordial greetings to those comrades soldiers and sailors, NCO's and petty officers, ensigns and officers of the border troops who, during this festive hour, are unable to be among us--who on this November evening are conscientiously performing their duty on the watch towers, along the patrol roads and paths, at the coast, and on the waves of the Baltic Sea!

Thirty years have passed since the first units of the German Border Guards were formed on the soil of what is today our GDR.

In these past three decades, tremendous revolutionary changes have taken place in the world. The socialist world system has developed into a mighty international force. The socialist German state has emerged as its inseparable part, building at the side of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries the developed socialist society, and thus creating the prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. These were three decades filled with struggle in which it was possible to preserve peace for the peoples of Europe, thanks to the consistent policy and growing strength of the Soviet Union and its allies. Each step which we made along this successful road constitutes part of the revolutionary history of our working people in which the members of our border troops have also participated.

Many of the comrades who 30 years ago had a weapon put into their hands by German workers and Soviet officers, who put on the uniform of a Border Guard, or merely a band on their sleeve, and who took up guard posts, had no, or only

slight experience in Border Guard duty. But they all were marked by one thing: their unshakable conviction to serve a good and just cause, and their certainty that the road mapped out by the party of the workers class for our people was correct and would lead to victory.

The young Border Guards were assisted by tried communists, steeled in the class battles of the Weimar Republic, and in the defense of people's Spain, in the ranks of the Red Army, or in the illegal resistance struggle. German communists and the soldiers with the red star created at that time the foundation for efficient Border Guard units up to the development of our modern border troops of today.

Thus, the hour of birth of our Border Guards became for many sons of workers and peasants, who immediately after the end of the war had only for a moment stood at the work bench or tilled the fields and who were now fulfilling their duty as Border Guards, the beginning of a cordial and lasting soldier's friendship which in the subsequent years proved itself as a source of strength for the reliable protection of our state border.

Some of the older comrades here in the hall will still recall the first days and weeks of border duty in 1946. More than 2,000 kms of border had to be secured. A single guard had to secure a strip 10 kms long and sometimes even more. Not everyone had a personal weapon. It was a hard life full of deprivations which our comrades had to live in those years.

Despite all these difficulties in the years of the beginning, they held their own--at that time as well as in the subsequent years. Up to this day they have kept an enemy in check who perfidiously and brutally has time and again tried to eliminate our border.

They held their own in the years of building our antifascist-democratic system against agents and saboteurs, but also against war criminals who wanted to flee from just punishment, against black market dealers in nonferrous metals, against currency speculators and other criminal rabble.

They held their own when in the fifties aggressive international monopolist capital was preparing "X"-day also for the GDR, when the imperialists, their groups of diversionists and armed gangs, wanted to burn down the people's power in the conflagration of the counterrevolution.

They held their own when in 1961 the NATO strategists and Bundeswehr generals were about to march through the Brandenburg Gates with drums beating and trumpets sounding to open via West Berlin "the gate to the East."

"X"-day never came. For those who were again full of fervor to fight on "until 5 minutes past 12" the clock struck irrevocably 13 one Sunday in August. The planned action of the perennial diehards and incorrigible eastland riders turned, before it had actually started, into the greatest defeat of German imperialism since the end of World War II. It failed due to the consistent attitude of the Soviet Union and its allies. It collapsed in front of the security lines of our



militia detachments, our Border Guards and standby police, and of the tanks of the National People's Army and the Soviet Army.

At that time, a leading politician wrote in the United States: "The 13th of August is a black day. On this day the West has lost one of the most decisive battles in the cold war... a couple of thousands of concrete blocks and mortar will be worth millions of dollars at the conference table."

It is true: The reliable military protection of our state borders against the FRG and West Berlin not only clearly showed the imperialist class enemy the limits of his power. From this day on, progress in the GDR was better and faster, socialism constantly gained weight, and those forces grew in strength who forced FRG imperialism to give up its frontal attack strategy, and finally made him sit down at the conference table.

It was frequently thanks to the courage of the members of our border troops, to their determination and cool-headedness, that attacks against our state border were repulsed in time, and that border provocations staged by the class enemy did not grow into armed clashes. Our Border Guards have contributed their share to enabling our working people for more than 3 decades to pursue their peaceful work undisturbed and in safety.

For this we thank all comrade soldiers and sailors, NCO's and petty officers, ensigns, officers and generals of the border troops of our GDR on this their day of honor most cordially, and pay them great respect.

We include in this our gratitude to all comrades who were perfidiously torn from our side by the enemy, who have fallen while protecting the socialist home country in loyal fulfillment of duty.

We honor the comrades:

Sergeants Gerhard Hofert, Fritz Otto, Siegfried Apportin, Herbert Liebs, Werner Schmidt, and Heinz Janello; Sergeant Major Manfred Portwich; Senior Sergeant Ulrich Krohn; Sergeant Helmut Just; PFC Waldemar Estel; the NCO's Juergen Schmidtchen, Peter Goering, and Reingold Hun; Capt Rudi Arnstadt; the NCO's Siegfried Widera, Egon Schultz, and Rolf Henninger; Lt Lutz Meier; the NCO's Klaus-Peter Seidel and Juergen Lange. A total of 20 comrades, 20 young human lives murdered by the class enemy, died while protecting our state border in the years 1949-75!

These comrades will always remain unforgettable for us as models of the loyal fulfillment of military duty whose hearts had beaten for our good and just cause, and their patriotic and internationalist legacy lives on in the revolutionary actions of thousands of young border troop soldiers who are mounting guard for the protection of peace and socialism!

Dear comrades and friends! We proceed from the following: Political detente requires mutual respect for independence and sovereignty between states with different social systems, demands the inviolability of borders. And, on the

other hand, every attempt to put the borders of another state in question or to violate them will naturally poison the political climate and endanger the process of detente. "And even more," said Comrade Honecker, "what matters here are not only the interests of the GDR and its citizens. The issue is primarily peace in Europe, which depends mainly on the security of the borders."

That is why we welcome the very significant decisions of the Bucharest session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states. As it says in the declaration: "Life shows that in our time peace and security in Europe are indivisible, and that there is no other choice. There is no reasonable alternative to the policy of detente." The consistent implementation of the principles and agreements adopted in Helsinki shapes, as the leading representatives of our socialist community have declared, "the new face of Europe--of a Europe of security and cooperation."

The operations of our border troops, the security measures for the protection of the territory, territorial waters, and airspace of our republic, are aimed at quiet, security, and order at the borders. They serve detente, and are thus in accordance with the vital and security interests of all European peoples, all people who cherish understanding and peace.

The 700 kms of land border of the GDR with people's Poland and the neighboring CSSR are, moreover, a very vivid example of the fact that borders must not necessarily be walls which separate, but that they can be seams of close, friendly cooperation, and lively economic and spiritual-cultural exchange.

It is true, however, that the relations of our fraternal socialist countries with the GDR are of a quiet different nature than those of the imperialist FRG and West Berlin. After all, it is a whole period of history which separates us from the social relations which are still being conserved there. But even this fact does not preclude normal relations based on the principles of international law. The majority of the population of the FRG and West Berlin does not want any provocations and incidents on the border, and there need not be any. Whose interests are served by the more than 1,000 incidents during which this year alone our state border has been violated with provocational intent--certainly not those of peace and detente, but those of the cold war warriors who want to threaten with a hot war.

The GDR is a country that is open to the world. At the second Central Committee plenum it was announced that in the past 4 years alone, from 1 January 1972 to 30 June 1976, more than 53 million people and nearly 20 million vehicles used our republic's transit roads. Hundreds of thousands of FRG citizens have visited the GDR per year--from July to August 1975 alone they numbered more than one million--and hundreds of thousands of GDR citizens visited the FRG. This very convincingly demonstrates that normal relations between the two German states are possible and quite practicable--provided that both sides strictly comply with the concluded agreements, and abstain from anything that is harmful to the mutual relations.

Of late, even leading FRG politicians have implied that incidents and provocations at the borders with the GDR are burdening the process of detente. A Bonn secretary of state even declared that this border was "not suited for any kind of tests of courage or private demonstrations."

We welcome every realistic recognition, every individual swallow, but we also know that one swallow does not make it spring, for from the same direction there are still coming whole flights of cold war crows.

Thus armed rowdies who destroyed our border security installations were attested by the FRG judiciary as rendering "emergency aid." Thus political adventurers and incorrigible revanchists who gather for muscle-flexing demonstrations at the border or organize motor rallies over our transit roads are by no means impeded in their dangerous activities by the Bonn strategists. On the contrary, they are given instructions as to the best methods of acting, and are issued written directives.

FRG constitutional court judges announce that the GDR border is not a border in the sense of international law. Politicians and journalists of all Bundestag parties agitate against, and vent their wrath on, our border troops, some openly demanding that the FRG armed forces "give fire protection" to border violators and provocateurs.

He who wants to make the border "transparent," that is, permeable, he who tolerates attacks and provocations directly at our state border, and who justifies the degrading and vexatious treatment of GDR citizens by the Bavarian border police, is furnishing new proof that he does not want to renounce the old revanchist goals.

These are the perennial diehards' circles of imperialism, to whom the peaceful coexistence of the European peoples has always been a nightmare, who 3 decades after the fiasco of their attempt to seize world rule, and years after their gravest postwar defeat, still do not want to accept the political realities in Europe, who want to penetrate our territory like sneak-thieves today, and with violence tomorrow, and who want to expand once more their shrunken sphere of power.

We will know how to protect ourselves against them and their stooges. To this end, the border troops of our republic, and all other comrades who bear responsibility for the reliable protection of our borders, will continue to uncompromisingly devote all their energy in the future, as they have done in the past.

Under the leadership of the party of the workers class, our socialist German state in barely 3 decades has done a hundred times more for the freedom of the personality and for the victory of humaneness, for insuring that the working people can shape their existence in true freedom and a secure future, than the other German states before and beside it have done in centuries.

Our border soldiers have received their arms from the hands of the workers. On their orders they are insuring that at our borders calm, order, and security

prevail, that our children can learn without worries and can grow up in peace, that our working people can furnish our socialist house more and more beautifully and comfortably.

This embodies the most deeply liberal and humanist content of the class assignment of all armed forces of our worker-peasant power, and thus also the members of our border troops. Their service at the state border of our republic with the imperialist ruling system, at the demarcation line between yesterday and tomorrow, is humanism in practice, a militant will to peace, which also knows how to use arms whenever it is necessary to check the enemies of the working people and of their freedom. Our border soldiers protect life, because they themselves love and respect life. Their hearts beat in love for man, and for this very reason are at the same time full of hatred for all those who threaten peace and the happiness of man.

Let all these imperialist circles be told by us loudly and clearly: as in the past decades, it will be all the more a waste of energy in the coming years to try to bring down the state border of our worker-peasant power by shouting and steamrolling. We can declare this with every determination and full confidence, because we possess safe guarantees for it.

The most important guarantee of the always reliable protection of our border against imperialist attacks are the people who are doing their duty there day and night, our fine soldiers and sailors, NCO's and petty officers, ensigns, and officers of the GDR border troops. Our Border Guards--class-conscious workers and sons of workers--have grown along with their socialist republic. Today, they have more and better weapons and equipment than 10, 20, or 30 years ago. They are more experienced, more steeled ideologically, and more versed in military skills. While in 1961 only every tenth officer was a graduate of the tenth grade, today more than 93 percent are college graduates.

The members of the border troops--the majority of soldiers are young skilled workers--have for a long time been among the most conscientious, dedicated, and reliable forces of the GDR's socialist national defense. In the current training year, every other border soldier was awarded the exemplary soldier's title. During the party congress initiative, more than 2,200 young comrades received the candidate member's cards of the SED.

A guarantee of the reliable protection of our border--that is the inseparable connection of the armed organs with the workers class, with the working people, that is the cordial relations and the fruitful cooperation between the border troops and the border populace. The history of our border troops is most closely linked with the trust and the solidarity of the working people.

Who has counted the leisure-time hours during which our border helpers have reliably and conscientiously taken care of security and order in the border region? The state borders with the FRG and with West Berlin are secured in the truest sense of the word by the people, by the welder from the Bergmann Brosig Veb, the plant cultivation brigade leader from Apprenrode, by

the scientist from Teltow, by the communist as well as by the member of an allied party, by the old trade union functionary, as well as by the FDJ member.

The members of the border troops have been firmly incorporated in the life of the border populace. Many of them act as deputies. We find them in residents assemblies, at work as helpers in the fields or in the "join in" competition, as circle leaders in the party or FDJ study year. They have friendly relations with the children. To the citizens they are "our Border Guards."

A guarantee of the reliable protection of our border--that is the close cooperation of our border troops with the National People's Army, with the organs of the Ministry for State Security, the German people's police, with the members of the customs administrations, with the workers militia detachments, with civil defense, and with all other forces of our country which bear responsibility for the socialist national defense.

The National People's Army, as well as all other protection and security organs of our republic, can firmly rely on the fact that in the front line well-trained and expediently equipped border regiments are stationed, which are capable of recognizing and coping with any advance of enemy military forces, and which will steadfastly defend the border jointly with the National People's Army and with the Soviet Army.

A guarantee of the always reliable protection of the GDR border--that is finally the thousand-fold tried and tested comradeship in class and arms with the glorious Soviet Army and the border troops of the allied states. The incessant learning from the Soviet comrades, proletarian internationalism in the military sector have decisively influenced the shaping of our border troops in 3 decades. From the Soviet comrades, the members of our border troops have learned, and are still learning, to distinguish class-consciously between friend and enemy, to act politically consciously and tactically prudent.

All our allied states and peoples can rest assured also of the future: The border soldiers on the Werra and Elbe, and around West Berlin are untiringly and with unceasing vigilance mounting responsible guard for the protection of the common socialist and communist construction work in Europe against the aggressive intensions of imperialist would-be conquerors of the NATO pact.

It is true and remains true, as Comrade Brezhnev expressed it: "The GDR is master in its own house. Like any other sovereign state, it has the right to protect its borders. The GDR has shown that it is capable of holding its own. And though this may annoy the enemies of the working people, the German worker-peasant state was, is, and will remain. It will grow, prosper, and advance in the closed ranks of the fraternal socialist countries."

Dear comrades and friends.

Whatever the GDR border troops have become up to the present day, they did so under the purposeful leadership of the party of the workers class, our SED, and of its Central Committee. It was from there that ultimately originated all the guarantees of their strength and indomitability.

The SED and its Central Committee set the task of creating specific protective and security organs of the German worker-peasant power, faithful to Lenin's tenet that a revolution is only worth anything if it knows how to defend itself.

The party early spotted the forces which from the soil of the Western occupation zones and later of the FRG operated against the people's power, against democratic order and legality. It organized the armed protection of the borders as an essential component part of the antifascist-democratic transformation, as well as of the socialist revolution in the GDR.

The party leadership has always, and full of circumspection, seen to it that those forces and means were available on our state borders that were necessary in the specific class struggle situation. The party and its Central Committee has set forth the basic outlines for the education and training of the socialist commanders, staff and political workers, and of socialist fighter personalities in our border troops.

And it was the thousands of communists in the basic branches who have always stood in the front ranks in the struggle for high security and commitment on the state border.

Incalculably great is the immediate solicitude of the party leadership and the general secretary, our Comrade Honecker personally, for the general modernization of border security installations, and for increasingly better service and living conditions of the members of our border troops. Even the border trooper in the most remote sentry sector feels the clarifying words and helping deeds of the party of the workers class. Its unrestricted leadership remains also in the future the bond and main source, the all-decisive guarantee for the flourishing of the developed socialism, for the security of its borders.

The gratitude that we are expressing today, on the 30th anniversary of the GDR Border Guards, to the working people of our country, to the peoples of the great Soviet Union and of its armed forces, and to the other allied states and armies --shall culminate in our words of gratitude, coming from the bottom of our hearts, to the communists in our republic, to our combat-tested SED and to its Central Committee, and to the general secretary, our friend and Comrade Erich Honecker.

In front of the party, our people, and of our allies, we give the assurance: the state borders of our worker-peasant power with the NATO state of the FRG and West Berlin will also in the future remain firmly closed to all those who want to inflict harm on the peaceful work of the working people. But, as previously, its gates will open up for everyone who respects the laws of the sovereign GDR and who comes to us with good intentions.

The GDR Border Guards are ready to honorably discharge their class assignment in the spirit of the decisions of the ninth party congress under all conditions.

## EAST GERMANY

### FRG DECISION FREEING WEINHOLD VIOLATES TREATIES, LEGAL NORMS

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1845 GMT 2 Dec 76 DW

[Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler commentary]

[Text] All soldiers are not equal. You can shoot border soldiers of the National People's Army. The officer of the federal border protection troops who shot and killed our Capt Rudi (Arnstadt) was promoted. The criminal Weinhold who murdered our comrades Klaus-Peter Seidel and Juergen Lange is an honorable man according to the decision of the Essen court. Ladies and gentlemen, the events are comment in themselves.

Weinhold, a criminal with a long record, obsessed by deep hatred of socialism and enraged because socialism represents humanity, freedom and happiness--this man Weinhold wanted at all costs to find a place where his kind can be sure to find the understanding, promotion and protection of politicians, policemen, judges and journalists. For that purpose he armed himself and took ammunition--proof of intention. He shot two border soldiers in the back. That was cowardly. Insidiousness and malice are the criteria for murder and not homicide. There was no exchange of shots. The weapons of the murdered men had not been fired since they had been cleaned, and they were locked.

More facts: According to international law, criminals must be extradited to the place where the crime was committed in order to be sentenced there. The GDR immediately extradited Msgt Juergen (Reinhardt), who had committed a crime in the FRG and who thought he could escape into our arms. Extradition according to international law of double murderer Weinhold was rejected. The reason: The Karlsruhe Constitutional Court ruled that the GDR is not a foreign country according to the FRG, so the case falls to the responsibility of the public prosecutor of the area where the culprit was arrested.

Today the responsible Essen court declared the guilty to be not guilty, a violation of existing treaties, of international law and of Helsinki, a violation of normal legal norms, a violation of humanity and morals, and simultaneously an inspiration for murder, because murdering soldiers of the National People's Army is supposed to be not murder but self-defense. Why not term it democratic murder? Or why not say: Weinhold, the murderer with a human face? Acquittal at the expense of the state--what a state! The public applauded loudly in the court.

REPORTS ON GDR PRISON CONDITIONS

GDR's Own Penal Law Contravened

Frankfurt/Main FRANFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 26 Oct 76 p 3

[Article by Claus-Einar Langen: "Eight Apples and Four Tomatoes per Year -- Conditions in the Jails of the GDR -- Drastic Aggravation -- Comparison With Soviet Models"]

[Text] There are no indications that the aggravation of "disciplinary measures" in GDR prisons -- a practice which has been observed for a long time -- is going to be revoked. This aggravation which befalls political victims of criminal justice rather than criminals, and the most prominent feature of which is food deprivation, represents an infraction of the regulations of the East Berlin "Law Concerning the Execution of Sentences" of 12 January 1968 and -- in the revised form -- of 19 December 1974. In comparison with the findings concerning the treatment of civic rights advocates in Soviet prisons, the news leaking from the penal institutions of the GDR is at least as bad. For example, reports on injustices in the Vladimir penitentiary in the Soviet Union do not differ from those concerning the penal institutions in Berlin-Rummelsburg, Brandenburg-Goerden and Cottbus.

The execution of "strict solitary detention" and of isolation in solitary confinement in the prisons of the GDR does not differ from past practices under the supervision of the Soviet custodial power during the first years after the end of World War II; to some extent, the execution is more severe. As regards the above-mentioned occurrences in the penal institutions of the GDR, the demand for an "appropriate opportunity for developing and maintaining the prisoners' physical and mental well-being," which was raised in the Control Council Directive No 19 -- cosigned by Russian Army General Sokolovski on 12 November 1945 -- has so far not been fulfilled. The aggravations in the execution of sentences have been confirmed by the reports of former prisoners as well as by written communications which were smuggled out of prisons.

One of the most grievous and severe punishments is the "strict solitary confinement" -- a measure which is frequently imposed on political prisoners,



since they are especially vulnerable owing to their oppositional attitude toward the regime. For "strict solitary confinement," the classical detention cells are still being kept in readiness. These cells are partitioned by bars extending from wall to wall and from the floor to the ceiling. In the Cottbus jail, the toilet pail represents the prisoners' only day-time seating accommodation. Conditions are similar in the Berlin-Rummelsburg jail which is among the largest penal institutions in the GDR. In addition to the pail, the prisoners here can use as a seat a board fastened to the wall; the toilet outside the bars may be used only in the morning and evening. The prisoner's rations are drastically reduced, and in keeping with the severe and aggravated procedure of sentence execution in all GDR penal institutions, the food is standardized.

According to this procedure, the prisoner receives a simple warm midday meal on every third day. On each of the two intervening days, he receives approximately 200 grams of bread and a half a liter of tea or malt coffee. The hard sleeping accommodation, a wooden bunk with wool blankets, is removed after reveille or tilted up against the cell wall. The prisoner is not given any newspapers, books or reading materials pertaining to his religion. In Cottbus, the windows of the detention cells are blacked out so as to let through only a trace of daylight. The lamp -- with a single 75-watt bulb -- is not turned off until bedtime. Moreover, the detention cells are insufficiently ventilated.

Circumventing the regulation of paragraph 36 of the law on sentence execution, according to which "strict solitary confinement" must not exceed 21 days, the GDR prisons also mete out sentences of two 21-day terms of "strict solitary confinement." In between the two 21-day periods, there is a break of 1 day, on which class A rations are granted to nonworking prisoners. However, during the period when the Soviet occupation forces were the executive organ, confinement for two 21-day terms -- which punishment was rarely imposed -- was broken by an interval of 4 to 10 days. In the Brandenburg-Goerden jail which reportedly holds more than 3,000 prisoners, inmates who refuse to perform the compulsory labor required by law are sentenced to two 21-day terms of "strict solitary confinement." In regard to this practice, a man who had served a 2-year term in Brandenburg-Goerden stated in a report given to the West Berlin "Study Group 13 August": "All in all, 70 inmates, for the most part political prisoners, subjected themselves to these hardships."

The GDR law on sentence execution does not mention the reduction of rations. Consequently, it must be considered an arbitrary measure, torture by starvation. Neither does the law indicate which of the prisoner's privileges or rights are suspended during the confinement. (From 1 January 1977, when the new law on sentence execution will go into effect, the penal institutions of the Federal Republic will no longer impose the hitherto customary aggravations of confinement -- reduction of rations and denial of sleeping

accommodation. In consideration of the new law, the penal institutions have on principle avoided imposing these aggravations for the last 2 years. Escape attempts are as a rule punished by 2 weeks of confinement -- without any special aggravation -- and physical assaults on prison officials, by 3 weeks. In the Nuernberg penal institution, for example, there is no confinement in response to nonfulfillment of fatigue duty. Nevertheless, the hitherto effective federal regulations prescribe in detail the execution of aggravated confinement. Thus, if in the event of the most extreme aggravation the prisoner is denied the usual morning, midday and evening rations, he must "receive a daily ration of 700 grams of bread and a sufficient quantity of the customary beverage." The service and penal regulations provide for the aggravations to be discontinued on every 3rd day. Even under conditions of severe confinement, the prisoner is given religious reading materials during the first 7 days, and from the 8th day on, "if desired, an appropriate amount of reading material; for example, a newspaper or magazine subscribed to.")

The catalog of injustices in GDR prisons is lengthened by the method of isolation or "separation in solitary confinement." The mere application -- filed during detention -- for release from GDR citizenship, and the political creed connected with it are sufficient reason for some prison directors to subject inmates to this coercive measure. However, such a procedure is in contradiction to the GDR law on sentence execution, which emphasizes that in the course of sentence execution, "nobody may be discriminated against on account of his nationality, philosophy of life, or social class."

Worth mentioning in this connection is a letter by the presently 34-year-old engineer Wolfgang Defort, which he wrote on 15 January 1976 in solitary confinement in Cottbus and which was addressed to the East Berlin attorney Vogel. It is assumed that Vogel -- convicted on account of his attempt at "illegal border-crossing" and on account of "subversive agitation" -- is presently in the Brandenburg-Goerden penitentiary. In his letter to the attorney, Defort wrote that on 14 August 1975, he was "put into this darkened, humid, cold ... cage, without being informed as to the length of time. Besides, it is only on account of my way of thinking and the opinions I voiced that I am tortured, ... humiliated, degraded, mocked, punished with starvation, cold and solitary confinement ..."

In close confinement, the daily rations -- aside from lunch -- consist of 500 grams of bread, 10 grams of butter, 15 grams of margarine, a thin slice of sausage and a little jam. In most cases, it is forbidden to purchase additional food. As regards fresh fruit and vegetables, the prisoners received during a 1-year term of solitary confinement in the Cottbus penitentiary eight apples, four tomatoes and on two occasions cucumbers in the form of salad and on the Christmas holidays, two oranges. It is reported that after the isolation, the prisoners were "emaciated and but a shadow of their former selves."

In regard to isolation or solitary confinement, there are obviously no regulations expressly permitting starvation rations as additional punishment. Nevertheless, the question arises as to whether the vague formulations of the law on sentence execution actually encourage such violations of general legal standards. According to the law of 12 January 1968, the prisoners' rights include "appropriate rations." On the other hand, the first executive regulation of 25 March 1975 mentions the "basic norm" of communal feeding. Here the only reference to "appropriate rations" is in connection with "work performance compensation."

It is possible that some political prisoners are taking too great a gamble. In the 1950's, it was the desire to survive the imprisonment which to a great extent determined the attitude and the degree of resistance. Thus there was an important principle for the time of detention: The time of the coercive measure is the time of the others; it is not my time.

#### Former Inmate's Comment

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 3 Nov 76 p 9

[Letter to the editor by Rolf Langguth, Idar-Oberstein]

[Text] It was with great interest and sympathy that I read in the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG of 26 October the report by Claus-Einar Langen about the conditions in GDR prisons. As a one-time citizen of the East German state (since July, I have been living in the Federal Republic), I was imprisoned from 1972 until 1973 on account of attempted "escape from the Republic" (Untermassfeld, Halle, Bitterfeld penal detail); consequently, from my own experience, I am all too familiar with the GDR prison system. Claus-Einar Langen tried to give an objective description of the facts; in comparison with the report, however, the facts of "life" in the GDR prison system are much more depressing. The conditions in East German prisons, which are in fact scandalous, cast a distinctive and revealing light on the "real socialism" in the GDR and on its vaunted "humane face!"

During the months of my imprisonment, I often witnessed violent acts against prisoners, especially political prisoners. However, prison officials (GDR terminology: "Educators") were only in very few instances the executors of these acts, which consisted of beatings, punitive drill to the point of total exhaustion, hour-long standing in the camp square, and other measures; rather, the executors were selected, corrupt criminal convicts, for the most part brutalized and cruel men. For executing these punitive measures, they were then praised and rewarded by the "educator" in charge. Of course, the educator was always a "class-conscious communist" devoted to the "cause of the working class and its democratic dictatorship(!)." These conditions are reminiscent of the reports from the prisons and camps of the NS state; cf. the book "The SS-State" by Eugen Kogon. As is well known, the trustees in those camps were likewise obedient objects of the SS.

Apart from physical violence, which varies in degree, the political prisoners in particular are subjected to a kind of torture which is far more difficult to endure than torture by starvation or isolation; the torture of brainwashing -- popularly called "red light radiation." By means of sophisticated psychological tricks and more or less subtle methods, the description of which would go beyond the framework of this letter, the attempt is made to shake and break the personal identity -- which after all is quite developed especially in political prisoners -- in order to attain the desired objectives (fear, total adjustment and subordination). The GDR prison system focuses on the "reeducation of man into a socialist personality;" however, claim and reality are in irreconcilable opposition. Naturally, extremely sensitive persons suffer greatly from these "reeducational measures;" quite frequently, they are confronted with a severe identity crisis which can have lasting consequences. These facts, which represent a severe violation of human dignity by the GDR system, are insufficiently emphasized in the reports about the conditions in GDR prisons. In this connection, I would also like to recommend to all readers the story "The Cell" by the former GDR prisoner Bienek.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

TISCH ARTICLE VIEWS TRADE UNION ELECTIONS

East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0543 GMT 24 Nov 76 LD

[Text] Berlin--In an article published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today, Harry Tisch, SED Politburo member and chairman of the Central Executive of the GDR Trade Union Federation FDGB, stresses that the trade union elections in enterprises and institutions, which began on 1 November, play an important role in further perfecting socialist democracy in the GDR.

Tisch points out that, of the more than 270,000 trade union groups in the country, over 218,000 have already held their election meetings, and notes: "Even now, one can say that the high level of participation in election meetings during earlier election periods will be exceeded this time. Previously, between 86 and 88 percent of the trade unionists took part in the meetings, and every third or fourth trade unionist took the floor to submit his thoughts and proposals on the various issues of our social life."

Harry Tisch says the authority of trade unions in the GDR has increased. This is shown by the fact that the period since the eighth party congress in 1971 "has been the most successful in the history of our trade unions."

The main subject of the discussions in the trade union groups was the continual improvement of production as the basis for a further raising of the material and cultural living standard of the working people. A special role was played in this respect by the fulfillment of the science and technology plans, Harry Tisch says: that is, by intensification of production.

"The attention paid to the health, security and well-being of the working people is our supreme commandment, and this must naturally be taken into consideration when developing and introducing new technology," the SED Politburo member continues. "Finally, one of the basic concerns of the trade union elections is to develop even more strongly the wealth of ideas and vitality of the over 8 million FDGB members in achieving our economic and social policy objectives. These initiatives are also the foundation of our social progress, of the peace, democracy and social security which only socialism can guarantee for all working people." Harry Tisch adds that, during the discussion of the 1977 plan tasks, trade unionists submitted over 528,000 proposals.

Harry Tisch stresses: "The fact that what a worker says is worth much in our country, this is nowadays--and we can be proud of this--just as much a matter of course for most people as is free medical treatment. No one thinks any more about the fact that it was, and is, quite different under capitalist conditions. But the daily duty of each and every trade unionist is still to make sure that every proposal is really evaluated, that no criticism is passed over and that no idea gets lost."

CSO: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### BRIEFS

CRITICISM OF SCHOOL CURRICULUM--Gerhart Neuner, president of the East Berlin Academy of Pedagogic Sciences, has criticized the overloading of class instruction with ideological subject matter in GDR schools, without, however, questioning whether political-ideological indoctrination should be the foremost educational goal. In this connection, Neuner demanded closer scrutiny of the possibilities of the individual subjects for the establishment of ideological, philosophical, political, economic, moral, and esthetic findings and convictions. He stated that within the existing concepts of instruction, differing guidelines have been developed from the viewpoint of education and that, in part, ideological education, separated from the actual subjects of instruction, is given too much emphasis. Therefore, according to Neuner, much greater attention must be paid to practical knowledge in connection with future concepts of ideological education. [Excerpts] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 19 Nov 76 p 4]

CSO: 2300

## HUNGARY

### CENTRAL COMMITTEE EXAMINES IDEOLOGY, PROPAGANDA

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Oct 76 p 3

[Unsigned article: "With a Socialist View For a Developed Socialism"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party debated this week an extraordinarily complex question of great importance: the Marxist-Leninist training of the party membership, experiences of party propaganda and a few of the more important theoretical questions. The central organs of the party have dealt separately on numerous occasions in recent years with details of the multifaceted theme; as a result of this the present organizational frameworks for propaganda work were developed and the majority of these will also be suitable for the future. Now the circle of problems came before the Central Committee in its entirety. Two circumstances made this timely. One appears in the internal needs of our development, in the fact that the social role of awareness increases with the progress of socialist construction work. The other is interdependent with the changes in the world political situation and the development of the international communist movement. The policy of peaceful coexistence, with detente playing a dominant role, increases the significance of ideological struggle.

The analysis, in complete harmony with the resolution of the 11th Congress and the program statement adopted there, starts from the obvious fact that, as we could read in the published communique: "Only a party armed with a revolutionary theory, only a theoretically well trained party membership struggling and working in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist principles, is capable of mobilizing our entire people for the realization of our national program, the creation of a developed socialist society."

Statistical data pertaining to propaganda work and party instruction therein are well known from the communique, data which well illustrate the increase in the ideological culture and political information of our party membership. The interest of the party members and of broad strata of non-party people in various forms of instruction indicates the spread of Marxism-Leninism, an interest which manifests itself in over-application at some



points, for example in the evening universities or high schools of Marxism-Leninism. Without over-estimating the results the Central Committee could establish with a realistic and measured judgment that instruction has come up to the political and ideological needs, not only in quantity but in content also, and its quality has improved.

Is there still need for improvement, for organizational perfection and for development in substance and level? There is certainly such need, while maintaining the proven organizational forms of instruction and the established number of students. The communique states: "It is the task of party instruction to raise the ideological training of the party membership to the level of the requirements of the 11th Congress. This must be achieved by improving the quality of instruction."

Thus the emphasis is on quality. And in many respects. Study materials have improved much in recent years but they should be formulated more succinctly, more maturely and more uniformly. It seems useful to modify the ratios among various forms of instruction. The Central Committee spoke with warm appreciation and recognition of the sacrificing work of the propagandists thus far; but at the same time it urged a further improvement in their ideological preparedness, political information, link with practice and pedagogical understanding. The body formulated a warning in connection with further training and self-training which is important for the propagandists and for every party member with adequate basic training. In the course of one's career it is not only the knowledge belonging to professional and general culture that must be regularly refreshed; political knowledge must be refreshed also and, in addition to organized forms, a method for this which cannot be neglected is constant independent study.

The session called special attention to two spheres of study material. One was the history of the Hungarian labor movement. "The history of the work and struggles of the party provides enduring lessons for the creation of a socialist Hungary...and aids the creative application of Marxism, the avoiding of errors, and provides a weapon against rightist and leftist distortions." The other was a basic knowledge and creative application of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. One must always consider where, when and in what circumstances the classics drew their conclusions. Instead of repeating axioms one must study and understand the essence of the theory, what its teachings mean for us in our time.

Improving quality must also mean better teaching. Instead of formal transmission of subjects and textual materials there must be an attempt to acquaint the students with living ideals which they master in lively debates and thought provoking exchanges of opinion. Every question must be examined in its changes, going beyond the things which are outmoded and discovering the seeds of development. Instruction should not only provide information but also should form the dialectic view. Our party membership should be prepared to argue better. In the ideological struggle between the two

world systems there is need for the rejection of anti-Marxist or mistaken views as well as for a convincing expression of our ideals, views and political aspirations. In the final analysis 'our propaganda work "should so express and spread our revolutionary theory that it should become a conviction even better defining thought and action. It should provide armor against both dogmatic and revisionist mistaken ideals."

Going beyond, or rather included in, what should be done to modernize propaganda the session of the Central Committee devoted great attention to three spheres of ideological questions which are especially important in our day. These are: the building of a developed socialist society; the interdependence of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy; and proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism.

The analysis approached the problems of building a developed socialist society while fighting against two sorts of danger, two sorts of one-sidedness. One is the idea that the developed socialist society will be an idyllic society fundamentally different from that of today. The other is that nothing will change and that we have no new tasks because the present tasks will continue to show our road in the future also. We must take care so that we can dialectically link our immediate daily tasks to our socialist prospects. That which will be timely after two decades should not be included among our tasks of today; we should remain on the ground of realities. But in the course of everyday work we should not forget our great historic goals. The essence of creating a developed socialism is to strengthen the processes developing in our contemporary society and to perfect socialist relationships in every area of life. Fundamental to this is a development of the material-technical base, linking the advantages of socialist social relationships to the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution. The leading body of our party pointed out that increasing the effectiveness of economic work demands efforts not only from the economic leadership but also from instruction or public culture.

The developed socialist society presupposes not only more productive work and an ampler supply of material goods but also, for example, a perfection of distribution relationships, a more consistent realization of distribution according to work along with an increase in social allotments. And this means, not least of all, a broad expansion of the socialist way of life. False ideals and illusions can be found in the interpretation of this concept also. The socialist way of life cannot be made general by education alone and it cannot be "introduced" from above. Many narrow this concept to the useful use of free time. This is part of it; but the crucial part of the development of the personality and of meaningful human existence is productive work, of a creative character and filled with joy, and active public life activity done for the community.

The fundamental question for every society is the character of power. The foundation of our socialist society is the power of the worker class which

is exercised with the inclusion of every working class and stratum. The power of the worker class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, cannot be opposed to the strengthening socialist democracy nor can one ignore the change in the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Democratism does not weaken but rather gives greater content to the realization of the central will and encourages independent activity and initiative which are of ever increasing importance. The dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy are inseparable concepts; and it is just the unity of the two which ensures the superiority of socialist democracy as opposed to every bourgeois democracy.

This same dialectic, a view disclosing the internal interdependencies, is realized in the analysis of the third group of questions also. "Active socialist patriotism gives great impetus to our construction work, which means communal activity, work and a constant readiness for service to the homeland," we can read in the communique which then continues: "Patriotism and proletarian internationalism are two sides of the commitment to our system and to our ideals and are fundamental requirements for the international struggle being waged for the construction of a socialist society and for the world-wide victory of communism." With its profound and rich expression of the concept and content of proletarian internationalism--emphasizing the harmonization of national and international interests, the strengthening of the unity of communist and workers' parties, the political, economic and ideological cooperation of the countries of the socialist community and solidarity with the revolutionary forces struggling in the capitalist world--the session of the Central Committee also defined the tasks of propaganda work.

What was said at the session and the resolution adopted there, naturally, not only provide tasks for propaganda work for this is inseparable from party work as a whole and is an organic part of it. It is of extraordinary importance, for example, that party committees at every level regularly deal with theoretical questions, weigh the ideological effect of their decisions, analyze and make theoretically useful their rich experiences gained in practice. The party primary organizations are the workshops for the ideological education of the party membership; they should exploit every forum outside of instruction also for this purpose.

In the final analysis the ideological preparedness of our party membership, its ideological, political and action unity, illuminates our society as a whole. By means of it the ideological unity of our people, working together for the political goals of socialism, is strengthened also. Thus our ideals, the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, become truly a material force, forming the views of ever greater masses and guiding their action, becoming an inexhaustible resource for the construction of a developed socialist society.

## HUNGARY

### PASSPORT, FOREIGN EXCHANGE REQUEST PROCEDURE EXPLAINED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 23 Oct 76 p 10

[Article by Dr Kalman Meszaros: "Detailed Information on Passport and Foreign Currency Requisitioning"]

[Text] Those traveling abroad must first of all, in preparing for the trip, obtain information about the orders, regulations and rules which affect them. Of these, the most important relate to passport requisitioning and foreign currency supply.

One may travel abroad as a tourist, visitor, on a tour organized by travel agencies, with the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] or for business purposes. The amount of foreign currency supplied will be determined by the type of travel document.

For those who travel into those ruble-accounting European countries with which the Hungarian People's Republic has an agreement that no visa is needed, the passport authority will issue a passport valid for private travel for 5 years.

The cost of the passport is 150 forints for the first time. In this case the passport authority provides five exit permits for the so-called "red" passport which authorizes travel to Czechoslovakia, to the GDR, Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. For each additional exit permit a 20-forint fee must be paid. If desired, another five exit permits may be obtained at a time by paying the 100-forints fee.

The "red" passport is valid for the Soviet Union also, but the exit permit must be obtained for each occasion from the passport authority. The above passports are issued in Budapest by the borough police headquarters, and in the districts by the municipal and jaras police headquarters. The passport request form may be purchased at the post office and also at certain tobacco shops.

Currency supply within a 10,000-forint annual limit is currency equivalent to 400 forints per person per day; beyond this foreign payment means may be requisitioned for fuel expense as necessary.

The currency-issuing offices charge a 3-percent fee for the forint value of the foreign currency amount used, calculated at non-commercial exchange rates, and a request fee of 5 forints for up to 500 forints per person, above that 20 forints.

In cases of travel by rail, airplane or bus the passengers may purchase the tickets for forints also.

In case of travel as a visitor to the countries mentioned, the opportunity of currency supply and ticket purchase are just the same as that of traveling as a tourist.

In the case of group tours organized by travel agencies, the travel agency also provides a minimal amount of spending money. If the passenger does not consider this sufficient, he has a chance to requisition foreign currency up to an additional 400 forints' equivalent per day from the travel agency.

Those who travel to countries of convertible currency as tourists must have a prior issuing permit for foreign currency from the Hungarian National Bank, a type of "promissory note." In general, the bank issues promissory notes for travel to West European countries and Yugoslavia only. A promissory note may be requested for certain countries outside of Europe also (Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon) which the bank will issue with the condition that the passenger must travel on MALEV airplanes [Hungarian Air Transport Enterprise]. The currency requisitioning form may be obtained for 20 forints from the subsidiary networks of OTP [National Savings Bank], IBUSZ [Touring, Money Changing, Traveling and Shipping CO, Ltd.], COOP-TOURIST [Group Touring Enterprise], SIOTOUR [Sio Touring Enterprise] and submitted to them for the purpose of forwarding to the Hungarian National Bank. The Hungarian National Bank does not directly accept foreign currency requests.

The bank does not authorize the issuance of convertible currency for the purposes of tourist travel for those who

- a) wish to travel to non-socialist countries, but
  - in the year of the request or in either of the two previous years have traveled in a non-socialist country on a trip private in character, or
  - in the year of the request or in the previous year have taken part in a trip of private character in Yugoslavia.

At the present time the waiting period is 1 calendar year after participating in group tours organized by travel agencies and the SZOT to West European countries and after trips as visitors.

- b) wish to travel to Yugoslavia, but
  - in the year of the request or in the previous year participated in trips private in character (tourist, visitor, organized group--not including tours organized to Yugoslavia) to countries requiring the use of convertible currency.

The bank does not consider participation in group tours organized by travel agencies or the SZOT to Yugoslavia as reason for exclusion, in other words following such travel they will permit the issuance of currency without waiting time for West European countries or Yugoslavia.

Promissory notes may only be obtained by Hungarian citizens who are over 14 years of age and who have their personal identification book. Those between 14 and 21 years of age who travel with their parents will receive preference.

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CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

EFFECTS OF NEW HEALTH CARE PLAN DISCUSSED BY OFFICIAL

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 31 Oct 76 p 5

[Interview with Dr Laszlo Medve, deputy minister of health by Aniko Antal]

[Text] Today in our country everyone is entitled, as a right of citizenship, to free, high-quality health care. When our social policy achieved this, it meant not only a happy step forward in the population's health care situation but presented numerous new challenges for the Ministry of Health.

On the basis of the health care law created in 1972 the Ministry of Health has worked out the Fifth Five-Year Plan's program for the profession. Our reporter Aniko Antal talked about the execution of this with Dr Laszlo Medve, deputy minister.

[Question] What tasks do you consider to be the most important in the area of corrective-preventive care, and what is involved in carrying them out?

[Answer] The assignment of organizers working in the health care area is partly designed to make the results of medical science available to the entire population according to the basic principles of socialist health care, and partly to have the health care network satisfy, in the course of its operations, those social policy requirements which are defined in connection with its activity. I would mention as one example that rapid care of those who are sick has changed in the past decade through the results of medical science. We have established the intensive-care departments in the hospitals where a great many seriously ill patients are saved through self-sacrificing labor. At the same time so far we have not improved the opportunities of doctors working in basic care--in districts or factories--to administer emergency treatment according to the latest developments of medical science.

Before this year is over, we will begin and next year we will finish supplying the doctors working in this area with "emergency" packages which contain breathing apparatus, infusion solution to prevent development of shock, and other equipment and medicine necessary to save lives. District

doctors may also take the emergency care package with them in their cars, so at traffic accidents, for example, they will be able to administer aid with professional equipment until the ambulance crew arrives to do their fine job.

There are other programs on the agenda also; for instance, with the opening of the new Cardiology Institute next year the fight against the illness of the cardiovascular systems which causes the most deaths will gain new impetus. We can and must do more in the interest of early detection and successful treatment of tumor illnesses. In the areas of spreading the modern ray-therapy processes, automation of laboratory work, care of the mentally ill, solution of mental hygiene problems, and many other branches of clinical science the concrete task consists of executing the professional programs worked out by the guiding national institutions.

[Question] The firming up of sick benefit discipline was defined in the recent past as a socio-political requirement. What was done and what is the extent of progress in this question?

[Answer] We are working on carrying out the tasks assigned to health care by the appropriate decision of the Council of Ministers. The medical community understood that there are serious economic effects of the difficult job of judging earning ability; it also influences the manpower situation. Today this activity is becoming ever more professional and better organized. But others are also doing their jobs. Thanks to this, the sick benefit situation after the period of influenza at the beginning of this year, is developing more favorably than last year. Continued work is necessary to firm up the achieved results.

[Question] According to your opinion, how effective is the operation of the curing-preventive institutions and services?

[Answer] Increase of effectiveness is also mandated by the resolution of the party's 11th congress. The integration through new organizational laws of institutions and services operating under the supervision of the same council not only increases effectiveness but creates the organizational conditions of the unfolding of democracy at the place of employment. We in health care also consider this an important task. And the new operating regulations of the institutions promotes elementary order in sick care and cooperation among physicians.

[Question] Can this also promote the improvement of the ethical situation?

[Answer] Yes. Medical ethics is the moral side of medical activity and it cannot be narrowed down to material issues. The overwhelming majority of doctors work ethically, self-sacrificingly and feel hurt by the generalization and unprofessional moralizing on ethical issues. Progress in issues of medical ethics can only come about by working with the doctors.



The overwhelming majority of doctors and health care workers are ready to excommunicate from among themselves, even through the force of public opinion, those who abuse the patients' helplessness and tie the care of ill patients to remuneration.

[Question] How could the fulfillment of tasks assigned to health care from the population increase policy resolution be characterized?

[Answer] Health care had to be assured for 30,000 more pregnant women annually, a greater number of births and increased amount of infant care under practically unchanged circumstances. The problems were successfully solved because at the same time the increase of the frequency of premature births stopped, infant death rate began to decline and the number of artificial terminations of pregnancy decreased significantly. If we take into consideration that only 1 decade ago for 140,00 live births there were more than 200,000 abortions, while last year for over 190,000 live births the number of abortions was only 90,000 we can feel that the health care workers have also accomplished a great task in the interest of executing the population increase resolution.

[Question] What could you mention as a material result in the area of adult protection social policy?

[Answer] Primarily that unbelievably great social readiness to help which can be used in the care of the aged who find themselves alone. Youth, younger retired people, Red Cross activists, and socialist brigades care for more than 10,000 lonely elderly people and there are still further opportunities to develop this social caretaker network.

[Question] How do you judge the population's behavior with respect to health care issues?

[Answer] The fact is that merely increasing the network of health care institutions cannot make the principle of prevention complete. It is necessary that the population get appropriate health care information material and shape their behavior accordingly and, if necessary, they should also be self-motivated in protecting their own or the health of the entire society.

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## HUNGARY

### CRIME RATE IN BUDAPEST DISCUSSED

Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 29 Nov 76 LD

[Text] Budapest, 29 Nov, MTI--Sunday's NEPSZABADSAG carries an interview with Dr Karoly Csok, chief prosecutor of Budapest, on observations gained by the Metropolitan Prosecutor's Office on the enforcement of law and order and socialist rule of law in Budapest and about future tasks in the field.

In Budapest public security is satisfactory, socialist rule of law is firm and these factors have exerted a positive influence on the enforcement of law and order in the country as a whole.

In Budapest the number of crimes committed against the state, including political ones, is very low. "This low proportion shows that the firmness of our state order and our steady political situation deter most people from committing such acts," the chief public prosecutor said.

Budapest's crime statistics reveals that there has been a marked drop in illegal border crossings. A general amnesty law, which was issued last year, annulled charges against Hungarian subjects illegally residing abroad and who either return to Hungary until 31 December 1976 or announce their wish to this effect. More than 500 Budapest dwellers have availed themselves of this opportunity so far, he added.

However, there has been a slight increase in some types of crime, for instance robbery. In most cases the damage caused does not exceed (?100-200) forints. Often the victims themselves can also be blamed. For having become drunken at public places of amusement, they can be easily robbed.

The number of murders and aggravated assaults decreased steadily in the period behind, and there are exceptionally few murders coupled with robbery. The homicide cases are generally committed in the heat of passion. Rowdyism is also receding. The picture is especially favourable if we compare it with the crime statistics of other European cities, the chief public prosecutor pointed out.

Continuous control over the work by various organs of state administration is a particularly major task of the Metropolitan Prosecutor's Office. Since January 1, 1975 the Metropolitan Prosecutor's Office has conducted 695 comprehensive surveys, 213 of them with administrative bodies and 59 with arbitration committees for labour affairs. In addition, 1490 petitions concerning offences by state organs, companies or cooperatives have been examined. The Metropolitan Prosecutor's Office initiated legal actions against 145 persons and controlled whether the actions were carried out.

CSO: 2020

## HUNGARY

### GASPAR COMMENTS ON HUNGARY'S ECONOMIC ADVANCE, TU ROLE

Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1950 GMT 25 Nov 76 LD

[Interview with Sandor Gaspar, MSZMP Politburo member and secretary general of the National Trade Union Council, by Karoly Megyeri--recorded; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] It is well-known that the trade unions have always regarded the promotion of production as an important task. So the question is obvious and perhaps not premature: how successful was 1976, the first year of the fifth 5-year plan?

[Answer] Before I talk about the tasks of the trade unions in promoting production I would like to mention briefly our expected economic results. The year is not yet out--there is 1 month to go--but we can already draw up the balancesheet; I do not think the substance will change. Taking into account all circumstances, we are ending a successful year, although we still have problems. I would place equal emphasis on taking all circumstances into account--ending a successful year and having problems.

What do I mean by circumstances? We live in Europe--true, in a socialist community, but also linked by many ties to Western Europe through trade. The monetary and raw material crisis, which has lasted for years, affects the Hungarian Peoples Republic in a certain sense. Because we trade we have sustained losses owing to the steep rise in raw material prices. This is a circumstance which cannot be ignored.

Another circumstance is that the work done in our country has certain weaknesses in economic construction. In our time the solution of economic tasks is much more complex than 5 or 10 years ago. Finally, the weather has also been a factor. I will not go into detail. So much for the circumstances.

Now about the results. This year, the first year of the fifth 5-year plan, we will attain or come close to all our basic objectives. Investments are being carried out according to plan, we are building the future--and this

is no small achievement in current world economic conditions. Industrial production is increasing by 5 percent, which is a good and great achievement. National income is growing, though here we cannot attain the objectives but will come close. One reason for this is that, owing to weather conditions, agricultural production is not progressing according to plan. Besides, our housing construction plan, children's institutions, social and cultural investments will be carried out according to plan and not on a reduced scale. The raising of the standard of living will not lag behind the plan; consumption will reach the planned level. Although real incomes will perhaps be less, real wages will come near the objective. This is what characterizes 1976.

[Question] As regards the results, perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that many countries would be glad to be in the position of the Hungarian Peoples Republic.

[Answer] It is evident that we are ending a successful year. I also believe that many countries would be glad to be in our situation. In the present world economic situation, industrial countries which are far more developed than ourselves have taken a number of emergency measures in the past 2 years--their production has fallen, national income has not grown or has declined, millions have become unemployed. All these are results of the economic crisis which we know. We have not had to take emergency measures so far; and we hope we will not have to do so in the future. All in all, our development is dynamic; it is not rapid but dynamic.

I have said that we have problems. Among them I mention in the first place that our national values are wasted or not utilized. What do I mean by this? Expressing our aspirations in economic policy we use terms like "developing production structure" or "selective industrial policy." In other words, this means that we must not manufacture what has no value for use or exchange, what we cannot use at home because we do not need it and cannot sell it in international markets. This is what these terms mean.

When I say that national values are wasted, I mean raw materials, materials we have to buy, manpower, the lack of proper utilization of production equipment. Hungarian industry is characterized by the fact that it contains all types: modern, forwardlooking, as well as medium-grade technology and installations and also completely obsolete equipment. Many branches of industry have been reconstructed and supplied with new equipment: the central vehicle program is well-known; in the textile industry, we have almost replaced the entire production equipment, including the readymade garment industry. We have the equipment but it is not utilized to the full. This is the greatest loss to the people's economy if it becomes a permanent condition--if we do not use the equipment, not in one, but in two or three shifts.

The well-known situation in this country is that there are more workplaces than there are people in the workforce. This is not good.

[Question] We are increasing the number of workplaces all the time. This question has preoccupied public opinion for a long time.

[Answer] We are now rationalizing the matter and the balance will be restored soon, by which we mean a few years. This will certainly be a good thing. The loss caused by this situation is not only that we cannot utilize what we have but it also damages morale. We have mentioned this many times, now I should like to say briefly that the honor of the workplace always had a meaning and a value: we must restore it. In every organized society life begins by someone creating something and receiving something in exchange. Everything has its value.

In this country the situation has been for some years--unfortunately, for the above-mentioned reasons--that a worker leaves his factory, which is quite natural because the worker goes where he pleases, there are and will be no restrictions. He leaves his factory where the machines run and assembly lines move and the intensity of work is pretty high. When he is asked why, he answers that he will go where there is less work and more pay. This is wrong. Obviously, workers have always tried to go where they could earn more. This is a natural aspiration and a good thing, it is in the interests of workers and the country that they should sell their labor where they can do so to most advantage. However, if their answer is that they go where they can work less and earn more, this indicates the weakness of management.

[Question] They should get more pay where they produce more. How can this be achieved? What is to be done?

[Answer] Among our problems I would list our tasks in this connection. Here we must apply our principles of socialist distribution a little more consistently. What is available for distribution should be used better in such a way that those who give more to society should also get more. Thus better and more work should be remunerated a little better than hitherto. This is our aim.

[Question] What characterizes industrial democracy today? What does it mean more precisely? What degree of development has it reached?

[Answer] In our country the basic rights are laid down in the Constitution and the Labor Code, and under these the right of the workers to express his opinion in his workplace and to exercise his democratic rights is assured. There is a complete system for it and, as corporate bodies, the trade unions act in the interests of the workers. The trade unions have the right guaranteed by the Labor Code within a factory and on a national plane to act in reaching agreements, express views, make decisions, exercise a veto. All this is part of industrial democracy. There are other forums, like production and brigade leaders' conferences, which all express the present level and workings of industrial democracy which is, I reiterate, existing, alive and real.

This is what we have now; and, building on this, we must further develop industrial democracy. What we have now is indeed industrial democracy, but in the last analysis it is representative democracy which corresponds to the present level of development. Now we have to advance and so we want to develop industrial democracy further to meet higher demands.

[Question] It was in this connection that the 1-year experiment took place in 50 factories. What lessons can we learn from it?

[Answer] Now we are evaluating the lessons and drawing the appropriate conclusions, and we will develop industrial democracy in 1977 on new foundations and with general validity extending over all production units. We are thinking of rights of decision, and so we are building the elements of direct democracy on the basis of the present level of democracy.

[Question] After this philosophical analysis and statement would you please speak in a little more detail of the methods and forms of direct democracy.

[Answer] I will say what the concept is, because it is a concept. Having drawn our conclusions from the experiment and lessons of the 50 factories, we are now preparing to develop democracy further. The idea of asserting direct democracy is as follows: in Hungary, speaking in general terms, every factory making a profit is entitled to keep part of the profit and dispose of it. It can be used for developing technology, the welfare fund, raising wages, social and cultural institutions. The sum can amount to 15 or 20 percent of net profit.

The distribution of the money already takes place in a democratic way. The economic management draws up a plan and discusses it with trade union and factory party organs. The party and trade union organizations then discuss it with the workers--it is a democratic process. Finally the economic management makes the decision, following remarks and proposals made by the workers, what to use for what purpose. This is how it is now.

The new idea is that the economic management will draft its own plan--for example, from the 20 percent, 8 percent will be used for development, 5 percent for wage increases and so on. The management will present the plan to the factory party and trade union committees and they will give their opinion. The reason for this is that a question must be examined in its various aspects because the best decisions can be reached only in this way. When the views have been coordinated, then the trade union committee will pass the plan on to the shop stewards, who will discuss it with the workers in their groups of 10 to 15. The shop stewards will collect the remarks, views and proposals--the plan will be amended in accordance. Next a conference of all workers will be held in small and medium-sized factories; the plan including amendments made by the workers will be read out as regards the distribution of profits. In larger factories the plan will be made known to the shop stewards and the decision will be made by the workers' conference or the shop stewards as a body. Three or four basic questions will be decided: approval of collective contracts, wage rises, obviously, and the use of the social fund.

HUNGARY

HUNGARIAN, FRENCH TELEVISION AGREEMENT SIGNED

Budapest MTI in English 1030 GMT 26 Nov 76 LD

[Text] Budapest, 26 Nov MTI--The delegation of the French RV company TF-1 led by President Jean Cazeneuve has had talks with Hungarian television leaders. As a result of the cordial talks, a three-year cooperation agreement was signed in Budapest Thursday. In it the contracting parties undertook to arrange national evenings, to exchange TV groups, to develop the exchange of information and joint programming and to cooperate in the training of cadres.

The agreement was signed by Richard Nagy, president of the Hungarian television, and Jean Cazeneuve, president of TF-1.

CSO: 2020



## HUNGARY

### STATE OF FILM INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 31 Oct 76 p 8

[Interview with Andras Nemeth, production director general of MAFILM, by Robert Gaspar: "Budapest, Dialog, Hunnia, Objektiv--Workshops of Hungarian Film"]

[Text] Can we see good Hungarian films? Is Hungarian film making renewing itself?

Let there be no misunderstanding, the questions are far from being rhetorical, even though it is true that the reader cannot expect an unambiguous and final answer, at least not from this report. Perhaps in practice.

In any case the conditions are maturing and there is hope that the new organizational structure of film making will bear fruit in quality Hungarian film creations.

On the third floor of the MAFILM [Hungarian Film Manufacturing Enterprise] headquarters on Lumumba Street four new signs show the way to the offices of the studios which have been formed, to the secretariat, to the general staffs of the groups and shops the members of which, for the most part, cannot be found behind their desks. The directors of the Dialog, Budapest, Hunnia and Objektiv studios are experts of film manufacture and by this token appear primarily at the shootings.

"It is the desire of every film artist to create a shop where people think alike," noted Andras Nemeth, production director general of MAFILM, as an introduction to our interview.

[Question] "Has an inspiring atmosphere really been created with the creation of the four studios?"

[Answer] "It would be an exaggeration to say so now. But the four groups make this possible. Creative groups with homogeneous make-up provide an opportunity for mutual support and inspiration and the independent development of individuality. A director can make films at that studio which suits him best."

[Question] "Does each studio have its unique character already? Was this the purpose of separation on this basis?"

[Answer] "Thus far these four studios are only continuations and expansions of the previous two. So it is too early to speak of character although it is a fact that directors with essentially the same direction, if we can call it that, are working in each studio. Actually it is personal contacts that can develop the character of a studio!"

[Question] "More precisely, what are the concrete, practical tasks of each studio?"

[Answer] "They prepare scripts, manage the economic-material resources and, last but not least, follow the entire process to the 'bringing of life' of the script."

[Question] "Attending to the manufacturing process is a rather thankless task."

[Answer] "We have entrusted this sort of activity to the studios because the director himself chooses what group to belong to and it is to be hoped that well intentioned 'mid-wifery' will not give birth to mistrust. This is the foundation for creative contacts. Realization of individuality must be honored in any case."

Peter Basco entered the room. He recently began filming a contemporary film titled "Warning Shot" at the Dialog Studio. In addition he is one of the leaders of the group and was now headed for the scene, as director and artistic leader.

[Question] "Who are making films now in the new studio system?"

[Answer] "In addition to Peter Basco, Karoly Makk is also making a film at Dialog. His film titled "A Moral Night" will reach the public next year. Gyula Maar has just begun a film titled "Ceremony" and Sandor Simo's "Happy Years" is almost finished. Both of them are working at Hunnia. "Accent," directed by Ferenc Kardos, will be finished soon at the Objektiv Studio too."

[Question] "Something which will certainly interest many, has Miklos Jancso applied to any studio with plans for a film?"

[Answer] "Yes, he chose the Dialog Studio."

[Question] "Is a new epoch beginning in our film making? And if so, when can the public see the result of it?"

[Answer] "Every branch of art has periods which are defined by a gathering of forces, by a search for forms of expression. The last great age of

Hungarian film, which could be shown in its achievements, was at the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's. But fortunately we now also have artists of quality sufficient to raise Hungarian film making to a high level again. Bringing the directors into the new communities, the four studio system, is intended to serve this goal."

Thus film making has been renewed in form. But will the new "alignment" give new content as well? Will it really be able to create that inspiring atmosphere and creative shop which Hungarian film making needs so much?

These questions are up in the air. It may be that the four studio system will give the impetus and support but it cannot give the final solution. Let us give only one example in this regard, a question that has consumed so much energy and caused so many problems that we cannot ignore it when talking about Hungarian film making. This is the problem of actor casting.

Again we quote from Andras Nemeth. "This continues to be a question causing serious problems for our film making. With the confusion and fragmentation of the creative process and the impossibility of prior acquaintance with the theme or reading tests it is a miracle that casting for our films has the least criticism."

[Question] "Are there any prospects for reorganization or change in this area, for a solution?"

[Answer] "I can only say that I hope so. Creating the studio system was perhaps only the first step for a renewal."

The Obuda memorial house is an example of Seventeenth Century architecture. Prior to World War II they sold love here and in the last few months love has returned among its walls.

Karoly Makk is making a film of Sandor Hunyady's story "House of Red Lights," under the title "A Moral Night." A scene between Margit Makay and Iren Psota is being filmed in one of the little rooms of the house, repeating for the fifth time the dispute between the unsuspecting mother and the owner of the public house. Karoly Makk is directing the characters with detailed care and listening to their opinions as he forms his final conception.

The filming is taking place according to a precise schedule and only a 5 minute break permits conversation with the director who has taken a stand for the final creation of the new studio system.

[Question] "First of all, why did you choose the Dialog Studio for this film?"

[Answer] "Before all else the explanation is given by the comrades gathering there. We are all members of the director generation which started in 1949-1950, we know one another very well, and the common past represents a sort of bond."

[Question] "Are the studios being formed then on a generation basis?"

[Answer] "That is not what we want and the system is open; we would be glad to accept any young person and we will also show our films under the aegis of another studio. For example, I will be working next for Hunnia, in the studio under the leadership of Miklos Kollo and Sandor Simo, with whom I worked when filming 'Cat Game.'"

[Question] "What can we expect from the new formal system of Hungarian film making?"

[Answer] "For the time being I can only formulate my hopes since 'A Moral Night' will be the first film of Dialog, for example. I would hope that the creation of our films will be characterized by a good bit greater intellectual mobility, by more daring personal views and by livelier contacts with our patron, the studios.

"But let me add that we cannot attribute decisive significance to the organizational change. It must be treated as an opportunity."

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CSO: 2500

POLAND

FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY OFFICIALS VISIT POLAND

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Nov 76 p 4 AU

[Text] PAP--Andre Octave Colin and Michel Gregpon, officials of the PCF Central Committee visited Poland from 18 to 23 November at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee.

During their talks in the Central Committee Organization Department and in the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environment, as well as during their stay in Piotrkow and Kielce voivodships, the PCF officials studied the performance of the local government and administration bodies following the administrative reform, the development of sociopolitical life in Poland and the party's policy in strengthening socialist democracy.

During their meetings and talks the French guests were acquainted with the activities of the local party organizations, people's council and local echelons of state administration at various levels.

PCF Central Committee representatives had talks with Emil Wojtaszek, minister of administration, local economy and environment, and with Henryk Kanicki, deputy head of the Central Committee Organization Department.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

IRAQI COMMUNIST OFFICIALS VISIT POLAND

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Nov 76 p 4 AU

[Text] PAP--Iraqi Communist Party officials Dr (Farid Hormex) and (Aziz Sibahi) visited Poland at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee from 18 to 25 November to study the problems of the Polish food industry and food trade. They had talks in the Central Committee with Lucjan Piatkowski, deputy head of the Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department, and Stanislaw Zieba, deputy head of the Central Committee Department of Agriculture and Food Economy. They also had talks with the officials of the Ministry of the Food Industry and Purchases, of the Ministry of Domestic Trade and of the central organizations of the agricultural cooperative movement. During their visit to Kalisz and Konin voivodships they studied the plants and facilities of the food industry, agriculture and trade.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

# SZYDLAK SPEAKS AT 'NOT' CONFERENCE IN WARSAW

Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 24 Nov 76 LD

[Text] The national conference of the Chief Technical Organization [NOT] was held in Warsaw. Its objective was to assess the role of science and technology in the implementation of the socioeconomic targets set by the fourth plenum of the party Central Committee, and tasks it also set for the engineering and technical cadres, as well as for the scientific and technical associations.

The debate **focused** its attention on the major objectives of our country at the present stage of its development, among others, the further development of market production, speeding up the expansion of agriculture and food production, extending the housing program, and the development of sports. The technical experts will have to pay special attention to the stepping-up of agricultural efficiency through a more thrifty use of resources, raw materials, and energy, as well as through a better utilization of scientific and economic potential.

Taking part in the conference was Jan Szydlak, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee.

During the debates, the main directions of the NOT's future work were outlined. Problems connected with the fundamental goals of the socioeconomic policy were discussed, especially the speeding-up of the development of agriculture and of food production, the further development of housing construction, the promotion of exports, and the expansion of market production.

Jan Szydlak also spoke. He discussed the fundamental directions of socioeconomic development of the country during the next few years.

At the conclusion of the meeting, a resolution was adopted which expressed support for the socioeconomic policy of the party and the state, which also outlines the tasks facing party organizations. They are to support more effectively and activate socially the creative work of engineers and technicians.

Elections for NOT posts also took place. Aleksander Kopec was elected chairman. He is the minister of engineering industry. The NOT Central Council elected Prof Jerzy Bukowski honorary chairman of the Chief Technical Organization.

ROLE OF SOVEREIGNTY IN NEW WORLD ORDER

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 21, Nov 76 pp 50-54

[Article by Ioan Voicu: "Sovereignty and the New World Order"]

[Text] The consensus of governmental, non-governmental, and scientific international debates increasingly points out the fact that the establishment of a new world order is inseparably bound to the assurance of independence and sovereignty for all nations, no matter what their size, social order, or economic potential. The protection of national independence and sovereignty imposes itself as a component part of the general struggle for a qualitative renewal of relationships among nations, a renewal which has been placed under the consolidating authority symbol of international law and justice. This dominant feature of our times is clearly stressed by Nicolae Ceausescu, who stated: "In today's world, in which the desire of people to live free is affirmed with increasing vigor, and in which new independent nations are emerging with great strength, the question of autonomy and non-dependence for each nation, or the sovereign right of each people to be master in its own country, constitutes an objective law of socio-historical development. The possibility of promoting a new policy in international life depends on the respect shown toward this requirement and on the achievement of this goal."

Since the oldest days, sovereignty has been an inherent component in the organization of relationships among nations, and necessary for the very existence of the nation. On an international scale, sovereignty presupposes the exclusion of any external superior authority, the nation having to be autonomous and free to exercise all of its rights. Sovereign will is free and independent of any will external to the state. The independence of a nation is affirmed with respect to other nations through the fact that none of them can or do impose their point of view and will on another sovereign state. Sovereignty implies the right of each nation to promote a domestic and foreign policy established by itself, to defend by all means its existence and territorial integrity, and to act in accordance with its legitimate interests and the aspirations for progress of its own people, while fulfilling in good faith the international obligations which it has freely assumed.



The principle of sovereignty is inscribed in the opening sentences of the most important international documents adopted during the last three decades. We shall not dwell on them. But in order to understand the profound impact of this principle on the current debates regarding the new world order, it is appropriate to remember among other things, that the first chapter of the Charter for the Economic Rights and Obligations of Nations, to which Romania made a significant contribution, begins as follows: "Economic, as well as political and other types of relationships among nations, will be governed primarily by the following principles: a) sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence for each nation..." This is followed by a long enumeration of the remaining principles (15 in all), but the focus of attention is placed primarily on sovereignty, in a chapter significantly entitled "Fundamental Elements of International Economic Relations." The emphasis on sovereignty does not stop here, however, but is found again in Article 1 of the same document, which states: "Each nation has the sovereign and inalienable right to choose its economic system, as well as its political, social, and cultural systems, in accordance with the will of its people, without any sort of interference, constraint, or threat from without."<sup>1</sup> A clear application of this right is offered in Article 2, which provides: "Each nation holds and freely exercises full sovereignty, including ownership, use, and disposition, on all its wealth, natural resources, and economic activities." In fact, the entire document cited here reflects a constant concern for reaffirming and detailing the principle of sovereignty.

The politico-judicial significance of the principle of sovereignty is even more strongly demonstrated by the actual conditions of the contemporary world. As interdependences multiply, the principle of sovereignty proves itself to be, on one hand, a common fundamental element for all members of the international community, designed to coordinate their general behavior, and on the other hand, a powerful factor generating practical solutions for problems and situations raised by the evolution of relationships among nations.

The universality of the sovereignty principle entrains very significant consequences, insofar as it expresses its validity and applicability in time and space, the latter not being restricted or interrupted in mutual relations among nations. The international instruments regarding the new order, which reaffirm the universality of the principle, do not limit it with any reservation whatsoever. The new international order does not accept discriminations based on the size, geographic location, or economic-military potential of any given nation. This being so, the right of a nation to its character, territorial integrity, political independence, the free choice and development of its political, social, and economic system, the free use of its natural wealth, and to its participation on an equal footing in the forms of cooperation in which it is interested as well as in all the obligations that ensue, provide a real meaning for the principle of sovereignty in an universal sense, and materialize it in application to the practice of interstate relations.

All the large international conferences of recent years devoted to comprehensive topics of cooperation among nations, such as the environment, population, food, industrialization, the condition of women, or housing, have evoked the close and indestructible bond between the unfailing respect for the principle of sovereignty, and the demands of the new international order. In 1976, the Fourth UNCTAD Session (Nairobi) reconfirmed the continuing nature of the efforts made to promote truly new relationships among all the nations of the world. "The time has come for the dominant powers to end all the inequity which developing nations had to accept as former possessions, protectorates, or colonies," declared the president of the Philippines, Ferdinand Marcos, during this session. In turn, the minister of commerce of Algeria pleaded during the same meeting, for "the definition and enactment in practice of a new type of international relations, which will enable the elimination of injustice, domination, exploitation, and want, and which will avoid humanity's **irrevocable march** to destruction." Similarly, referring to the progressist principles and ideals which must inspire the behavior of nations in the building of the new order, the representative of Portugal stressed "the need for restoring the sovereignty of developing nations on their natural resources, in order to maintain a lasting peace."

The representatives of developing nations evoke increasingly often the principle of sovereignty in the context of discussions for a new establishment of economic relations. Thus, summarizing the point of view of these countries during the last meeting of the Economic and Social Council, the Mexican delegate stated: "The new economic order will have to respect the sovereignty of the people over their natural resources, and allow them to apply more equitable rules in the commercialization of their products. With regard to structural reforms, an intensified transfer of financial resources toward developing nations imposes itself, under condition that this transfer does not increase the debt volume of these nations." So that the sovereignty of developing nations will not be affected, the same representative recalled existing proposals, which have also been supported by Romania, regarding the formulation of a code of behavior with compulsory legal force, for the transfer of technologies, and of a similar code applicable to multinational corporations.<sup>2</sup>

An original concept, derived from an examination of the vast economic problem of the new international order, is the strategy of collective autonomy for developing nations, which is considered as a "key element in the reorganization of economic relations."<sup>3</sup> This strategy expresses the deeply felt desire of developing nations to no longer be dependent on developed countries, to consolidate their possibilities of joint action, to accentuate their negotiating power, and to model and apply an overall system of economic cooperation among themselves. The concept envisages the elimination of the "bipolar dependency" of the weak in their dealings with powerful nations, so that the political sovereignty earned in battle will be reinforced by an economic sovereignty, which recognizes at the same time the importance of domestic effort in the process of development, and eliminates any attempts at despoiling and exploitation of the people of developing nations.

A vigorous reaffirmation of the principle of sovereignty during the building of a new world order, is included in the documents of the Fifth High Level Conference of Nonaligned Nations, held in Colombo. The Political Declaration of this important meeting stresses the role of nonalignment as "one of the most dynamic factors in promoting true independence for countries and peoples, and for democratizing international relationships." The same document also states that "the adherence of nonaligned nations to the principle of authentic independence for nations, in contrast with a sovereignty of a purely formal nature, means that these countries are against any form of intervention in the domestic affairs of other states." The economic declaration adopted by the conference points out the outstanding importance of the establishment of a new international order, and discloses the fact that the struggle for economic and political independence, for complete sovereignty over natural resources, as well as the struggle for a better participation of developing nations in the production and distribution of goods, and for fundamental changes in the international division of labor, have the highest priority. In this context it is pointed out that the elimination of imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, as well as of other forms of dependency and subjugation, of interference in domestic affairs, and of domination and exploitation, are essential for the economy of nonaligned countries. The document also reaffirms the opposition of nonaligned countries to the policies and practices of multinational corporations, and places new foundations for "the inalienable right of all nations to the exercise of their complete and permanent sovereignty over their natural and human resources, and over their economic activities."<sup>4</sup>

The role of sovereignty in organizing the new world order is not limited to the political and economic sectors of collaboration among nations. The social aspect, characterized by the struggle for a new humanism, the cultural aspect, stamped by the efforts to combat the intellectual pollution of the masses, the legal aspect, determined by the relevancy of the goal to strengthen international law, and the institutional aspect, derived from the need to adapt the organizational structures of cooperation according to the demands of the new order, can all be studied from the standpoint of the operation of the principle of sovereignty during a period in which the people strongly ask for a new establishment of relationships among nations, as sovereign entities.

Under these conditions it is legitimate to ask: What substantiates the interest of nations -- particularly small and medium-sized ones -- in the building of a new international order, conceived as a multidimensional phenomenon? This interest derives naturally from the fact that the nations see in the new order a real framework for achieving their fundamental rights. The right to a free and independent existence, the right to decide in total freedom about its own destiny, the complete right over its natural wealth and resources, and the unhindered access to the advances of modern science and technology, could not be obtained effectively until now. The new order brings with it the prospect of achieving these rights in the general practice

of relations among states. These rights can be assigned only to sovereign national states. The strength of their interest in the new order increases as the new order is called upon to contribute substantially to the consolidation of independence in national states and to reinforce their sovereignty.

The full affirmation of these states' character, and of their freedom to think, decide, and act, is inseparable from the struggle for a new establishment of relations among states. Of course, the exercise of certain rights also entails the assumption of firm obligations which apply over the full extent of relations among states. These obligations are primarily directed toward a strict respect of national independence and sovereignty, full equality of rights, not resorting to force and threats of force, noninterference in the affairs of another state, respect of territorial integrity, and peaceful solution of international disputes.

One of the ultimate goals of the new international order is the foundation in the world of a system of relationships which will assure agreement between the national interests of people and the interests of the international society as a whole. But such an agreement can be achieved only through a radical change in the present relations among states. Equality, justice, and equity are the complete opposite of domination and oppression practices. In preparing the ground for the new international order on a political plane, the sovereign states are engaged in a fight to eradicate these practices. The use of force and threats of force, interference in domestic or foreign affairs, and control or pressures of any kind, are practices of the old order which must be thoroughly eliminated. However, the disappearance of these practices cannot be a spontaneous process, but will represent the result of a conscious struggle of the people organized in sovereign states -- who are the only ones in a position to instill force and continuity in this struggle. The old is well known not to willingly relinquish its place to the new. That is why the efforts to achieve effective disarmament steps, to eliminate military blocks and block politics, and to abolish all forms of subjugation and oppression, of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and of discriminations of any kind, are objectively finding themselves at the focus of the struggle for a real renewal of the world.

A nation cannot contribute to the building of the new order if it is not a sovereign nation. It can actively receive the rights and obligations which give substance to the concept of "order" only if it fully exercises the prerogatives of sovereignty. For a nation to be subordinated to the will of other nations means that it will find itself under the influence of another "order" which is foreign to it and to its interests. The new order will certainly be the result of a complex decision process, but one which will have to take into account a fundamental fact: the existence of sovereign states which cannot play a passive, contemplative role in this process.

Far from having concluded their historic role, sovereign nations are in equal measure the makers and beneficiaries of the new order. The conceptual and legal scaffolding of the new order cannot be erected by excluding some nations from this process, without seriously affecting the very idea of order, which is addressed to entities which are sovereign and equal in their rights. Neither the incontestable fact of a greater interdependence, nor the growing demands of cooperation can be invoked as a basis to attack or weaken the universal applicability of the principle of sovereignty. The new world order can be based only on the observation by all members and among all members of the international community, without exception, of the fundamental principles of international law, among which sovereignty occupies a capital place, being not an abstraction, but one of the primary values of contemporary society.

Some prestigious research on this topic, undertaken at a nongovernmental level, has led to realistic conclusions. For instance, the Third Report of the Club of Rome, entitled "For a Revision of the International Order," points out that the decision mechanism of the new order "does not assume a relinquishing of national sovereignty. On the contrary, in the foreseeable future, each nation will have to answer for its own well-being and development, based on a creative use of its human and natural resources -- in accordance with the principle of self-determination. In order to make this possible, nations must have a guarantee that their efforts toward development will not be endangered, or even sabotaged, by the consequences of the decisions taken by other nations."

Although they also express some debatable ideas about the new international order, the authors of a report of a seminar organized by the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies (USA) reach realistic opinions about the operation of the principle of sovereignty under the new order. Thus, they stress the "creative" use of sovereignty, the "voluntary acceptance" of "mutual concessions", but insist on reminding their readers that sovereignty "protects and even expands the capability of each nation to transpose into action its unique goals." At the same time, the authors of the report point out that sovereignty means "the right to say yes, as well as the right to say no."<sup>5</sup> On this basis they reach the finding, confirmed in practice, that "the world public opinion is far from ready for 'supranational' institutions to which national states would be willing to transfer their sovereignty." Developing the same idea, professor Barbara Stanford of the University of Syracuse (USA) holds the opinion that "due to all the difficulties of establishing a world government, and insofar as the majority of the people are not yet convinced that this is desirable, there is no chance that it will occur very soon."<sup>6</sup>

Despite these facts and the objective laws of society, world-government theories still continue to try to support the need for renouncing sovereignty. The French author Louis Periller, for instance, in "The Planetary Country," endeavors to demonstrate that "world-government is everywhere." He sketches a "world government system" which would be reached

through a "worldwide federalism progressing by stages." In his concept, institutions throughout the world would mean "an abandonment or delegation of sovereignty," which would require "an activity of education and information" to "dispel fears and reticences." The institutions described by him would reach a "weighting" of the equality of rights for the members of these institutions "through the real degree of their demographic importance and their international responsibilities."<sup>7</sup>

Attempts to oppose the sovereignty of interdependence are also being disclosed in increasingly open forms in recent times. Thus, Marion Mushkat criticizes as a block the conferences which have approached the problems of the new order, showing that they "reflect outdated and traditional positions, determined by an interest in the principle of sovereignty rather than a sentiment of interdependence." In the opinion of the same author, "an urgent transition would be needed from the principle of national sovereignty to that of universalism. However, the latter principle cannot survive unless international organizations operate accordingly; they are the only ones who can promote an universalist approach aimed at limiting the sovereignty of each one of the member of the world collectivity."<sup>8</sup>

Such points of view are contradicted by reality. True universalism means the participation of all nations, as sovereign entities, in the decision making process with respect for the character and position of each of them. Sovereignty cannot be transacted, and the struggle for a true universalism conceived quantitatively -- the participation of all -- as well as qualitatively -- the joint discussion and resolution of the major problems which confront mankind -- is itself in conflict with the attempts at weakening the sovereignty of nations.

There are also the authors who feel that there exists a "contradiction" between sovereignty and cooperation. One such is the West German author Walter Gorenflos, who writes: "The fundamental principles of the Charter are sovereignty and cooperation. However, these two principles are to some extent mutually exclusive, and the inherent tension in their relationship cannot be eliminated through either legal or political channels."<sup>9</sup>

But interdependence and cooperation are possible solely among independent entities, since they assume the existence of connections between subjects which are independent. To be sure, interdependence determines an expansion of collaboration relationships among sovereign and independent nations, but these nations do and must mutually respect their individuality, sovereignty, and independence, seeking solutions for adapting and matching their specific interests through collaboration, and not through subordination.

Independence and national sovereignty are not only the central institution of international law, but are imposing and will further impose themselves with the strength of an objective necessity, as factors of primordial importance for the progress and prosperity of each nation. The history of international relations unquestionably testifies that any nation which wants

to build a better life, and to occupy a dignified place in the concert of the nations of the world, must insure its political and economic independence. The free and independent affirmation of nations, their full equality of rights, the respect for their legitimate strivings and for their right to decide their own destinies, are a dominant trait of our era and of the development of human society. Because of the continually growing interdependence among nations, no country can live in isolation. Furthermore, the development and flowering of nations imperiously calls for a broad collaboration among them in the most varied domains of activity. The fundamental element which must be stressed, is that a stronger independence and national sovereignty does not oppose collaboration, just as the expansion, deepening, and diversification of international cooperation does not contradict the independence and sovereignty of nations. We are in the presence of two facets which do not contradict each other, but rather interdetermine one another. Independence and freedom generate the desire for a broad cooperation under conditions of equality with other states. The absence of freedom leads to a struggle against any form of constraint. The affirmation of sovereignty is a secure channel toward the promotion of collaboration and toward a union among nations.

The interdependence which presently characterizes the whole of the relations among nations will be even stronger in the future, as a result of an intensified collaboration on many planes among nations. This is an objective process which cannot be overlooked in the strategy of the new world order. But interdependence must not lead to dependency; it must express itself in the ability of each country -- including small and medium sized ones -- to participate in the forms which it considers useful, in various actions of cooperation with other countries, and to independently reach decisions about its own development. This principle has an overwhelming importance under the present circumstances, when all the countries of the world are engaged with solidarity in the sphere of universal inclusion of cooperation.

Sovereignty is not inimical to the development of international relations, but is opposed only to those relationships which contradict the imperatives of international law. More than that, a strict respect for sovereignty is likely to insure a broad development of international exchanges and cooperation, assuming the close involvement of all nations in the worldwide movement of material and intellectual values as part of a mutually advantageous collaboration. The unfolding of international events proves the fact that nations everywhere are increasingly affirming an independent position, move toward taking over their national wealth in their own hands, and want to establish their relationships with the other members of the international community on a new basis. These phenomena are occurring on all the continents, demonstrating that independence and national sovereignty manifest themselves as foremost factors in the progress of each nation, and in the multilateral and diversified collaboration in accordance with the standards of law and the imperatives of justice.

The expansion and diversification of international collaboration on one hand, and the struggle of the people to determine their own destinies and to insure their independence and sovereignty, on the other, are not contradictory; quite the opposite, they have relations of mutual interdetermination. On this plane as well, realistic opinions proliferate in scientific debates regarding the place of sovereignty within a new international order. The French jurist Michel Virally thus points out that "sovereignty remains fully viable in a situation of interdependence which imposes on each state the need to remain aware of the interests of the other states, so that it will maintain mutually advantageous relationships with them. Sovereignty is therefore also compatible with solidarity, which in terms of judicial principles fulfills the demands of interdependence, just as sovereignty expresses the requirements of independence."<sup>10</sup>

In conclusion, we believe that as a new world order is being built, sovereignty maintains an unalterable force of influence which is found with new values, with new specific forms of manifestation, and in a world of interdependencies. The success of the building of the new order will depend on the manner in which the principle of sovereignty will operate during the qualitative renewal of relationships among nations, since the new order must be the accomplishment of all involved, and must be based on standards of law and equity rather than on an order imposed by the strong on the weak. The future of the cooperation among nations will also depend on the correct solution of the relationship between sovereignty and interdependence. And finally, it is only on the basis of protecting and promoting sovereignty that it will be possible to achieve a normal development of international law, without which international legality itself would be affected.

What are the prospects of a practical promotion of the concept of sovereignty in the context of the struggle for a new world order? The UN Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, concerned with this question, has recently pointed out that during the last 30 years the number of sovereign nations in the world has tripled. That is why the building of peace structures and of a more equitable economic order are occurring during a period in which "national interests and aspirations remain preponderant." The growing interdependence of nations "has in no way lessened the force or prevalence of the concept of national sovereignty," is the opinion of the UN Secretary General, for whom, in a world of sovereign and independent nations, the "classical" relationships of domination of the many by the few are becoming a phenomenon of the past. That is why he believes that now, more than ever, there exists the possibility of a "sensible, equal, and constructive dialogue" for political and economic problems in all nations, developed or developing.

This dialogue is extremely important. A test of its value is offered by the 31st Session of the UN General Assembly, called upon to examine more than 120 points regarding the most diverse sectors of cooperation among nations. The principle of sovereignty is often mentioned during debates about political as well as social and economic problems, particularly in the context of a critical evaluation of the international strategy for development. Joining the many initiatives introduced by our country, the Romanian documents distributed to the Plenary Session of the UN during 1975, are again before the eyes of the world's nations. They stimulate an intensive dialogue,



to which Romania has intended and intends to bring its active contribution, as a measure of its belief in the noble goal of building a better and fairer world, founded on the great principles of international law, whose protection and promotion are inseparable from the goal of a democratic organization of all relations among nations.

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CSO: 2700

UNSCIENTIFIC THEORIES ON INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY TREATED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 21, Nov 76 pp 58-59

[Review of VIITORUL SOCIAL: "Critical Analysis of Some Unscientific Theories About National Independence and Sovereignty"]

[Text] In the contemporary world, which has seen an unprecedented growth in the exchange of material, cultural, and scientific values, the isolation and seclusion of states and nations are inconceivable. On the contrary, participation in the economic and cultural circuit, and cooperation among countries, correspond to the interest of all nations as well as to the multilateral progress of human society. The free and independent affirmation of each nation provides the foundation for a fruitful collaboration among all nations, and an essential factor in democratic and national transformations, and in social progress. National independence and international cooperation exist in a close interdependence and dialectical unity. An analysis of this organic, dynamic correlation between the trends of contemporary social progress and state independence and sovereignty, combined with an attack against unscientific, unilateral, and absolute approaches, are the subjects of the articles "Progress and Sovereignty" by professor Mihnea Gheorghiu, and "Independence and Interdependence in the Contemporary World" by doctor Marin Nedelea, published in the journal VIITORUL SOCIAL, No 3/1976.

The impact of the profound sociopolitical changes which have arisen during the last decade as a result of the technico-scientific revolution, and of the social and national liberation processes, has introduced in the national life unprecedented questions which generate an intense confrontation of ideas. Starting with the real process of interdependence in international life -- states Mihnea Gheorghiu -- a number of authors in various countries draw "worldwide-ist" conclusions, and formulate different arguments through which they try to demonstrate the "outdated," "historically outdistanced" character of the national phenomenon in our era, tending to negate the value of national independence and sovereignty. Such theoreticians as R. Saunwald, J. Stohler, J. S. Korowicz, Paul Reuter, and others maintain that the affirmation of each nation in the international system of coexistence and

collaboration would lessen the importance of sovereignty in the existence of national states, and would limit their "jurisdictions," which would be exercised by "another state or an international organization." In G. Schelle's opinion, sovereignty represents "an outmoded concept," while according to H. Kelsen it would be merely "an unconfirmed hypothesis." Moreover, the existence of independent national states would be harmful to peace, would generate misunderstandings and conflicts, including armed ones, and would be in conflict with the "humanism which wants peace," as maintained by the philosopher K. Jaspers. In addition, writes Mihnea Gheorghiu, theories are circulating about the need to create "spheres of influence" and a "restricted" or relative sovereignty, which would facilitate the flow of technico-scientific and social progress.

The intensified active participation of national economies in the world exchange of goods and values is often considered as a form of manifestation of the larger phenomenon of production internationalization. "It is maintained," writes M. Nedelea, "that under contemporary conditions, the modern forces of production exceed the national framework, making it necessary to create a suitable international production framework in the form of regional integration among states."

The unscientific nature of such viewpoints and orientations is clearly suggested by the fact that life itself has failed to validate them. Demonstrating by argument the inconsistency of these theories, the authors of the articles show that even when the theories start with real premises, they cannot succeed in going beyond a unilateral understanding of national phenomena, and avoid the complexity of processes in contemporary society, in order to draw distorted conclusions which will justify inclinations toward social and national oppression and toward domination of other nations.

An analysis of today's realities points out that it is not the existence and free affirmation of nations, and of independent and sovereign national states, but on the contrary, the failure to consider the strivings of peoples and nations, and the violation of their legitimate rights, which affects the fulfillment of a fruitful international collaboration and the affirmation of social progress trends, and which endangers the peace of the world. In this context, the articles show the outstanding political and scientific significance of the imperative need to establish a new economic and political order in international life, whose vital cell is exactly the independent and sovereign nation. Consequently, the foundation of relationships among nations and of their participation in social progress, is the broad development of their collaboration on the basis of respect for sovereignty, national independence, equality of rights, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit and assistance. Taken together, and applied as a single whole unit, these principles provide a framework for manifesting the creative abilities of each nation as a fundamental condition for progress in our times. The articles mentioned here thus become a contribution to the scientific debate, in the militant spirit of our party's ideology and policy, about fundamental processes and phenomena in the evolution of the contemporary world.

SUCCESSES, FAILURES OF THEATER CITED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 21, Nov 76 pp 39-42

[Article by Constantin Maciuca: "The Role of the Director in Theatrical Performances"]

[Text] The new 1976-1977 theater season has begun. Our forty theatrical collectives, animated by the creative spirit of party documents, and guided by the ideas disclosed in the talk of the secretary general of the party before the Congress for Political Education and Socialist Culture, will enact a repertoire of more than 300 premieres of classic and contemporary, Romanian and foreign plays, forming a very comprehensive artistic and educational program. In this climate of active creative competition, in which artistic collectives are moved by the desire to provide quality performances, capable of polarizing the attention of the spectators, a discussion of problems associated with a director's creativity seems to me to be necessary, the stage director being one of the principal factors by means of which a performance becomes an artistic and ideologic act, exercising its generous social function of complex -- civic and esthetic -- education of the masses.

The growth of the art of the performance in this century of "visual civilization," the enrichment of interpretations as the acting space is becoming more diversified and stage techniques are being revolutionized, and the amplified force of impression on the public, are also undeniably determined by the director's creativity. From a presence implicated in the collateral aspects of performance organization, beginning at the end of the last century the director has earned and established for himself a creative role in a project which is the sum total of many other factors involved in the social character of the performance. Recognizing its specific aspects, the art of the director continues to provoke controversy regarding its own functions and its relationship to other factors which participate in the completion of the theatrical work. The question was reopened during the "Conference of Young Directors" at Birlad, and more recently during the conference which was held before opening the Bucharest season, and which was devoted in a large measure to an examination of the director's

contribution. These questions, approached from the interpretation standpoint, were also subjected to careful analysis in several discussions organized with actors and theaters in Bucharest and the rest of the country, with particular interest being shown in the relationships between directors, playwrights, and actors, and in the means of collaboration and mutual influence among the systems of creation synthesized in a performance.

The creativity of the director's work is part and parcel of the very essence of the art of the theater, which is not an illustrated text, or drama read amidst scenery and in costume -- as unfortunately happens more than once in some performances, with obviously limited, if not zero, effect -- but a richer and more complex creation than drama, defined by the space-time mode of the communication. The summation of various expression modes has led to a definition of the performance as an "art of synthesis," pointing out its new quality, which does not agglutinate, but rather melts and models heterogeneous elements into an expressive, homogeneous, and distinct modality. Foremost in this characteristic of the art of the theater is the playwright-director relationship, indestructible in modern performances, generating the attractive as well as the repelling force of two creative processes based on complementary means of expression. The performance is the staging of a text, which thereby acquires a visual and plastic reality. On these baselines, the director has continued to increase his contribution to the achievement of the theatrical work, exploiting with greater sensitivity and imagination the main ideas of the drama, focusing attention on the lasting but not one sided relationship between his intention and the text. On the whole, all viable experiences start with the postulate that the text is the fundamental factor in the performance, and the great directorial achievements have been obtained by respecting the text not in mimicry, but creatively. By embodying the rich ideas of the text in the stage image, the performance acquires the requirements for artistic novelty, achieved in the director's concept of the theatrical work, presented as an attitude which is at the same time faithful and critical toward the text.

The concept of the director does not operate as a mirror which impersonally reflects the structure of the play, but as a sensitive lens which amplifies and enriches its meanings, the performance bearing the original imprint of the director's personality. The fact that the performance is based on the dramatic text must not be equated with a pre-eminence of the playwright, or with his right to coerce the directorial creation. It is no less true that the ideologic orientation of the director's work can only be that of the drama; the force field of the performance must heighten the values and demonstrative strength of the play. Sometimes these are richer than envisaged by the playwright, the receptivity of each work having an open character, and the obligation of the director being to "force" this openness through fine and penetrating analysis, without for that leaving the gravitational sphere of the proposed meanings.

The director's creativity always leads to an artistic amplification and enrichment of the many meanings in a play, illustrated in a revealing and complex stage image, able to transcribe these meanings with increased intensity. It is transmitted -- and simultaneously verified -- in the organic nature of the theatrical work, and in the unity of the factors joined together in solidarity in the polyphonic synthesis of the performance.

The literature on the theater carries very diversified opinions about the director's contribution, without anyone raising any questions about the creative role of the director's work. Swinging between the extreme positions of the "autocratic director" and that of the director as "mediator between the text and the performance," the points of view regarding the role of the director adopt many shadings but accept as incontestable his integrating and coordinating function in the performance. The director is thus a "poet" who not only invigorates the text, but also emphasizes the world of the subtext, at times offering a field of meanings equally as generous as those of the text, which he translates in theatrical terms. Controversy has been generated -- and continues -- by the principle of "fidelity" to the drama, in the name of which attempts have been made more than once to restrict the director's right to creativity. Some playwrights have interpreted fidelity in a restrictive sense, seeking to censor the director's artistic imagination and intelligence in interpreting the play, and in lending greater meaning to ideas through stage imagery. There is no doubt that servile fidelity cannot animate and improve the personality of a theatrical movement, and that it does not have the ability to encourage a directorial personality, but that on the contrary, it will wear down an investigative spirit and move the performance toward an inert and flat reading of the text. Fidelity must not limit the director's spirit, but must activate it toward a more profound understanding of the structure and meanings in the dramatic text. Ape-like fidelity, the flat reproduction of a text are as harmful as the absolute freedom assumed by some directors in the name of a "retheatricalization" of the theater, of its return to primordial times when it existed under the authority of absolute "gestuality," reducing the text to a pretext for outpourings of certain fantasies and destroying the drama through whims of the imagination.

In fact, true fidelity to the text can be expressed only by a spirited attempt to discover the super-meanings of the words, the metaphoric connotations of the conflict, and the psychological complexity of the characters, in agreement with the ideas and meanings of the drama, the director and the playwright being in continuous and fertile dialogue and collaborating in achieving a live and harmonious performance, with clear and generous meanings.

It has been argued that the classics should be condensed, on the justified grounds that the modern spectator chooses performances which match his available time. We clearly believe that abbreviations are possible as long as the ideas of the drama are not disturbed, the historical accuracy of the conflict and its meaning are not affected, but on the contrary, illuminated more strongly by the elimination of less significant details.

The aspiration toward originality consistently animates the director's behavior until it instills into it the values of a creative act, and the director does not confine himself to being a simple "game leader." Along with other factors, the director's work is defined as original by the force with which it imprints the structure of the performance with a poetic art which conforms with reality, reflecting this reality through a unified ideologic and esthetic vision capable of revealing directions and meanings in the burning social substance, and of discovering new forms and means of expression, or at least of revitalizing existing ones into unexplored configurations.

Originality presupposes first of all an innovative attitude in the axiological field of content, by discovering the most fertile perspective for investigating the dramatic substance, and by introducing new functionalities into the interpretative register. The originality of the concept, its ideologic vision, are validated by the artistic quality of the staging, with the true director involving himself into a passionate and engrossing effort at surpassing his past work. The call for originality and quality is raised directly by the superior and growing demands made by our cultural climate, and by the actual possibilities of the Romanian school of theater, achieved in memorable performances and in the final result of the theater as a means of education through art.

In our opinion, the originality and quality of a director's creativity is verified primarily through its relevancy and through its harmony with the country's socialist spirit. To be sure, contemporaneity is not indiscriminately and totally identified with the present, but is legitimized as a philosophic and esthetic attitude toward the whole spiral of social development: the past is viewed from the heights of the present, and the present is caught in its formation, as a genetic moment of the future.

A directorial point of view implanted into the present necessarily presupposes an examination of the dramatic substance from the dialectic perspective of the new; relevancy is not derived from a simple presence in our era, but is defined by a responsible, militant position subordinated to the advanced ideals of society. The relevancy of the point of view results from a selective process and is communicated in the concrete, historical, and dialectic nature of the stage image. The Shakespearean metaphor of the theater as "mirror" ("to place a mirror before time"), presented in the Romanian theatrical thought since Eliade and C. A. Rosetti to the present, affirms the historical determination of social relationships and motivations within the drama, and at the same time imposes a respect for them in the imagery of the performance. The historicity of the play must be transmitted in the performance.

In the social diversification and ideological delimitations of the contemporary world, directorial attitudes have evolved to generate two principal trends. One is that of the "historicist vocation" (Bernard Dort),

which in respecting the social coordinates of the drama regards the theater, in Brecht's words, as a "means for becoming aware of our own historicity," and creates within the public a critical receptivity for history and a militancy for fulfilling its progress. And the other is that of the "evasion from history," the supporters of this trend attempting to disconnect drama from its historical framework, and to disengage it from its ideology, placing the performance on a metahistoric plane through a directorial absolutism.

The confrontation between these two trends has occurred in regard to contemporary plays, but especially in connection with plays which depict the past, with classical works becoming the object of experiments which have generated prolonged debates.

As the interest in the national and foreign drama of the past is growing, our directors have found in classic plays generous means for exercising their contemporary spirit, the theatrical activity of recent years being marked by many stagings of careful relevancy. The prestigious successes obtained by giving new stagings to the classics ("A Lost Letter" and "The Lower Depths" directed by Liviu Ciulie, for instance) were made possible by the firm stand taken by directors on the advanced ideologic perspective of our times, thus stressing the historicity of social and philosophic determinants, which confer originality on the respective works. They illuminated meanings which had been blurred in previous interpretations, demonstrating the universality of these plays, whose ideas were live and significant in their time, and remain active in our era.

The relevancy of a director's view is a corollary of the inalterable relevancy of the classics, which in turn is determined by the broadness of the authors' concepts; the latter, capturing with great vigor the social data specific to the times, and creating characters which are significant for the human model of the era, have incorporated in the historic reality of the relationships which belong to the evoked events, durable truths crystallized and made permanent in social and artistic traditions.

The director's concept becomes relevant in the measure in which it succeeds in illuminating, with the evolved means of contemporary artistic thought, this seed of inalterable relevancy, lending new dimensions to social meanings and exploiting ideas which remained hidden in shadows at the time the work was written, but which today, confirmed by history, acquire a significant and outstanding importance. The director's work is to respect the spirit of the respective epoch, but with a new and superior understanding of historical determinism, soliciting the associative as well as dissociative reflection of the spectator, whom he thereby encourages and helps to think about the phenomena in the performance, and whom he guides in discovering the truth belonging to our times. The historic sense in a director's view must act as a pertinent ideologic guide, the performance being a means of expressing our own "historicity."



Among the performances of recent years, those which have generated the greatest interest have of course been those which have been staged with such a historic point of view, animating the burning message of history with staging formulas in which the means of modern interpretation were used, not to provide an external image of "local color," but to discover the spirit of the era in the psychology of the characters. For instance, the outstanding National Theater presentation of "Danton," directed by Horea Popescu, is in our opinion a monumental performance, not as much for its expansive staging, to which the spectators are obviously not indifferent but rather for the internal monumentality of the French Revolution era and its protagonists. As an example, the director, served with intuition and talent by Radu Beligan, has placed the character of Robespierre in an accurate historical perspective, has determined his place in the parallelogram of social forces in collision, and has stressed his advanced revolutionary spirit.

Also meritorious is I. Ieremia's attempt to re-evaluate as historical data, the controversial figure of Stefanita Voda ("The Hurricane" at the National Theater of Timisoara), not by means of external artifice, but rather through a rigorous matching of means of expression and content. Every time that the historic view is fruitfully imprinted on the performance, secondary characters without special importance in the play can acquire an impressive force of expression, encouraging access to the turmoil of the recreated era.

The directorial view is at times seduced by the temptation to "update," leading to a false modernization of the classics, which does not confine itself solely to dressing Moliere's characters in 1974 fashions, for instance, but which also includes an adaptation of the text to capitalist relationships and mentalities of the last decade, as was the case of a presentation given on the stage of a well-known English theater. At other times the director imbues some characters with orientations and personality traits which did not exist in the playwright's intention, the performance being conceived at a spiritual level incompatible with that of the era of the play.

Another trend seeks to make the performance timeless by disconnecting the eternally human element, contained in the conflict or in the intellectual aspects of the characters, from the concrete history in which this element evolves. This trend oscillates from a dearth of social content and a modification of relationships among characters, to a transformation of the play -- historical ones not excepted -- into eternal dramas of humanity. Irreverence toward the ideological framework of the play, weakening of meanings, and modifications of characters and their psychological motivations, have caused the failure of some performances. This was the case here with the plays "The Housewife" by Iulian Visa (Theater of Sibiu) and "Yvonne, Princess of Burgundy" (National Theater of Iasi). B. Barasch, the director of the latter, was not consistent in stressing the ideological dominance of the play, not solely because it lacked stylistic unity (he began in a conventional manner, with theatrical staging, descending at times into a naturalist treatment). The text was given literally, its interpretation

failing to suggest the idea -- expressed visually -- that the world of King Ignatius is absurd with respect to the flow of history. In a self-cloistered world in which non-heroes are stirring dangerously, the heroine could have acquired the symbolic strength of a higher value, withdrawn in her own conscience as a form of protest against the given world.

A trend toward a "dehistorization" of the theater is encountered in a certain type of theater of violence which degrades social values and cancels the educational effectiveness of a performance, by eliminating social parameters and substituting violence as a form of ethical and cognitive protest, with violence as an instinctive reflex. Every time violence has arisen in the tension of the internal debate as a philosophical and human attitude implacable toward the defects of certain characters, denouncing them with corrosive means as a form of engaged social option, performances have gained an increased force of artistic communication. Is not "Power and Truth" such a hard debate about fundamental principles of life, yet maintained strictly within the area of a decisive confrontation within a conscience? But at other times violence is treated on a physical level, leading to relationships among characters outside the sphere of ideological debates, and to a spectacle of physical encounter which springs from the theater of cruelty and is not critically assimilated in the essential elements of violence. The theater of cruelty -- which its "theoretician" Artaud never put in application -- appeared as a doctrine of protest against the bourgeois society, as a result of a rupture between a conscious "me" and a society which tends to reify and "objectify" the human personality. Opposed to the Brechtian political theater, the theater of cruelty is based on an esthetic of the senses and aspires toward the hypnotic trance which pulls the individual away from historical and social elements, away from ideology and pondering, and seeks to lower a performance into the area of primary reactions. The question of the theater of cruelty is a complex and contradictory one, with many shadows and few lights, generating experiments -- particularly in North America during the sixties -- as well as controversial exegeses, which we do not propose to examine here. We mentioned the theater of cruelty because the orientation of de-ideologization which it proposes did not remain without recognizable repercussions in the views of some directors and in presentations offered on our stages. Years ago, one of these directors stated his artistic credo by recognizing a personal aspiration "toward a magic, cataleptic theater, a theater not of the total actor but of total states, a theater where everything must be converted to trance. The public-performance communication must be a total, magic communication; for the time being, it is a formal, polite communication. In this respect, my black comedy shows ... are intermediate, purifying stages, pretexts for exercising my purifying skepticism."\* We are looking at an attempt to transplant a theatrical thought formula born in the agitation of another world, into a spiritual structure which has eliminated alienation to restore a human quality to man, into a society which needs a theater of political integration, a theater which evaluates man's position in the contemporary world.

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\* TEATRUL, No 12/1967, p 62.

Repercussions of the point of view which extracts the violence from its social framework are encountered in "Macbeth," staged by Aurel Manea in Ploesti, a performance with some qualities which have been justifiably noted in the press, but one which was built on a directorial concept which is neither clear, nor respectful of the Shakespearean view of history. The basic idea of the performance is not different from Jan Kott's interpretation of the play: "It has been written that Macbeth is the tragedy of ambition, and it has been written that it is the tragedy of fear. Neither is true. Macbeth has a single theme: crime. History is reduced to its simplest form, to a single image, and a single division: those who kill and those who are killed." History is "depicted as a nightmare." In this performance, the movement toward crime is understood as an immutable fact of the human condition, which is increasingly apparent until in the atomic era it attains a fatalistic proportion in the form of a nightmare. History is transformed into timelessness, ignoring the determinism lesson included in "Macbeth," which is to denounce the actual causes of the crime which acts destructively on the human conscience. The play is fundamentally a jolting condemnation of dehumanization, and an implicit plea for man and mankind.

But a historical view, close to Shakespeare's thoughts, has fortunately imprinted the performance of the National Theater of Craiova under the direction of Florica Malureanu, in which Macbeth's development consists of a debate on the loss of human qualities in a society marked by the struggle for dominance.

The theatrical synthesis cannot ignore the text, nor alter its values; the text is the basis for building the theatrical performance, resorting to all specific means developed in the context of its fundamental ideas. To disregard this truth is to avoid the historical elements of the play, to eliminate its social function, and to end up with mere gestures in seeking to avoid the meaning of the text.

The plans for this season's repertoire have been made with great responsibility, and will result in performances of definite artistic value, expressing with talent and ideologic precision the messages included in the ideas of the plays, as a new proof of our theater's ability to contribute to the political, ethical, and esthetic education of the masses.

We believe that the question of the historical point of view in theater directing is even more relevant today, when many theaters have undertaken the staging of historical plays, most of them determined by the great celebration of our state's independence.

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AMENDED DECREE ON DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL AVIATION

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 86, 2 Oct 76 pp 2-4

[Decree No 84/1976 of the State Council of the Romanian Socialist Republic on the Founding, Organization and Operation of the Department of Civil Aviation and of Units in Subordination to This Department]

[Text] Decree No 84/1976 of the State Council  
on the Founding, Organization and Operation of the Department of Civil  
Aviation and of Units Subordinate to This Department\*

Chapter I  
The Department of Civil Aviation

Article 1. The Department of Civil Aviation is a central body of the state administration in subordination to the Council of Ministers and carries out the policy of the party and the state in the field of civil aviation. Its activity is coordinated by a vice prime minister of the government.

The Department of Civil Aviation is the sole body of civil aeronautical authority in the Romanian Socialist Republic.

Article 2. The Department of Civil Aviation has its headquarters in the municipality of Bucharest, is a legal entity and a plan titular and operates as a budgetary institution.

Article 3. The Department of Civil Aviation has the following main duties:

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\* Republished on the basis of Article IV of Decree No 331/1976 of the State Council, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part I, No 85, 25 September 1976, with a new numbering being given to the articles.

Decree No 84/1976 of the State Council was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 28, 6 April 1976.

- a) It manages, guides and coordinates the activity of public air transportation of passengers and goods, as well as utility and sports aeronautical activity;
- b) It organizes the general network of airplanes within the country and provides for their connection with the network of international airplanes;
- c) It regulates, provides for and controls the traffic in the airspace established for civil aviation by means of the flight altitude, in order to achieve full safety of the flights;
- d) It provides for the application of international agreements on civil air navigation and the establishment of lines of air communication and organizes and carries out cooperation with international organizations in this field, in accordance with the legal provisions;
- e) It establishes technical norms and standards regarding construction, maintenance and repair for the technology of civil aviation and supervises the respecting of these norms in the process of design, manufacture, repair and operation of civil aircraft;
- f) It performs the registration of national civil aircraft and certifies their airworthiness;
- g) It authorizes the operation of airfields and of airport and air-navigation-protection installations and equipment;
- h) It gives advice on investment work on land with aeronautical restrictions;
- i) It provides for and pursues the fulfillment of the economic and financial indicators of the subordinate units;
- j) It manages, guides and coordinates the foreign trade activity involving aeronautical services;
- k) It organizes, provides for and administers the operation of civil airports and airfields in order to serve aircraft, passengers and freight traffic on the ground and in the air. It organizes, provides for and controls the operation and maintenance of the technical means and equipment necessary to flying, connections, and protection of air navigation;
- l) It organizes and provides for the operation of meteorological teams at airports and airfields and collaborates with other specialized bodies in order to inform crews and bodies for management and guidance of flights of civil aviation;
- m) It carries out the training of personnel in an aeronautical specialty and issues licenses and certificates that attest to their qualifications.

It controls the appointment and utilization of civil aeronautical personnel in relation to the qualifications obtained;

n) It organizes and performs the investigation of flying accidents produced with civil aircraft in the airspace of the Romanian Socialist Republic;

o) It takes steps to achieve firm discipline among personnel and to form a high moral and political character in them through the performance of an intense activity of education, in order to perform official duties promptly and at the highest level.

Article 4. The Department of Civil Aviation is managed by a management council, which decides on the general problems concerning the activity of the department. The collective leadership of the operational activity of the department, and the provision of the implementation of the decisions of the management council, are achieved by its executive bureau.

The department's management council and its executive bureau, bodies with a deliberative character, are organized and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 on management of ministries and other central bodies of the state administration on the basis of the principle of collective leadership.

The Department of Civil Aviation has in its management a head of the department, who has a rank of deputy minister and is appointed by means of a presidential decree.

The head of the department is also the commander of civil aviation. In this capacity he is aided by a first deputy and by deputy commanders of civil aviation, who are appointed by the Council of Ministers.

Article 5. The Department of Civil Aviation has a technical and economic council, which is organized and operates in accordance with Decree No 78/1973 on the organization and operation of technical and economic councils and commissions.

Article 6. The Department of Civil Aviation has the organizational structure and maximum number of personnel specified in appendices 1,\* 2a\* and 2b.\*

Article 7. The Department of Civil Aviation has in subordination the units specified in Appendix 3.\*

## Chapter II

### The Air Transportation Company "TAROM--Romanian Air Transportation"

Article 8. On 1 April 1976, the Air Transportation Company "TAROM--Romanian Air Transportation," with headquarters in the municipality of Bucharest, is founded in subordination to the Department of Civil Aviation.

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\* The appendices were communicated to the institutions involved.

Article 9. The TAROM company has as an object of activity:

- a) The execution of internal and international air transportation of passengers and goods on regular and charter runs and other air transportation services;
- b) The execution of foreign trade operations involving services in its field of activity, and the conclusion and execution of agreements and contracts with similar companies abroad;
- c) The provision of the operation, maintenance and intermediate repairs of the aeronautical stock in civil transportation aviation.

Article 10. The Air Transportation Company "TAROM--Romanian Air Transportation" is organized and operates as a state enterprise, on the basis of the principle of economic management, and has a legal personality, in accordance with the legal provisions concerning the organization and management of socialist units.

The TAROM company belongs to organizational grade I and has the organizational structure specified in Appendix 4.\*

Article 11. The 1976 economic and financial indicators for the Air Transportation Company "TAROM--Romanian Air Transportation" will be provided as a part of the indicators approved for the Civil Aviation Command--TAROM.

### Chapter III

#### The Base for Technical Service and Airport Repairs

Article 12. On 1 April 1976, the Base for Technical Service and Airport Repairs, with headquarters in the municipality of Bucharest, is founded in subordination to the Department of Civil Aviation.

Article 13. The Base for Technical Service and Airport Repairs has as an object of activity:

- a) The provision of spare parts for and the repairing of air-navigation-protection equipment and airport technical means and the pursuit of proper maintenance of the airport infrastructure;
- b) The transmission of air traffic messages to all aeronautical guidance bodies in the country and abroad.

Article 14. The Base for Technical Service and Airport Repairs is organized and operates as a budgetary unit with a legal personality. The base has the organizational structure specified in Appendix 5\* and is classified in the category corresponding to enterprise grade III in branch group III.

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\* The appendices were communicated to the institutions involved.

#### Chapter IV Final Provisions

Article 15. The personnel employed at the Civil Aviation Command--TAROM will be reassigned to the Department of Civil Aviation and to its units and are considered transferred in the interest of service.

Article 16. The list of the positions and their salary in the Department of Civil Aviation and the newly founded units are those specified in the appendices to Law No 57/1974 on payment according to the quantity and quality of work, as follows:

a) The positions in Appendix VI on the ministries, and the specific ones in Appendix IV on the Civil Aviation Command--TAROM, are utilized for the Department of Civil Aviation;

b) The specific positions in Appendix IV on the TAROM unit, the operational unit, the other aviation units that were included in the organizational diagram of the company, and the positions of chief navigator and laboratory chief (lubricants and liquid fuels) at the Civil Aviation Command--TAROM, and those in Appendix VII and other appendices, are utilized for the Air Transportation Company "TAROM--Romanian Air Transportation," in conformity with the provisions of Article 38, Paragraph 3, of Law No 57/1974;

c) The personnel in the Civil Aviation Command--TAROM who occupy positions according to gradations with salaries at a level of a central and who will be appointed to the same positions or other, equivalent positions with the same tasks and duties within the department or the subordinate units will continue to have the pay grade held.

The payment of military personnel is done on the basis of the principles specified in Appendix IX to Decree No 163/1975 of the State Council on the payment of personnel in the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of the Interior and other units in the special sector.

Article 17. The Ministry of National Defense will provide the medical assistance and the periodic medical checkup for the flying personnel in civil aviation.

Article 18. The payments abroad of the Department of Civil Aviation and the subordinate units that result from the activity of international transportation, from other services or from the fulfillment of obligations assumed through international agreements are made under the conditions established by Article 16, Paragraph 2, letter a, of Decree No 210/1960 on the system of foreign means of payment, precious metals and precious stones, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part I, No 56, 17 May 1972.

Article 19. The personnel in civil aviation will wear a uniform while on duty. The description of and the manner of wearing the uniform, the



actually ceases. The spatial limitation is that only that portion of the territory on which the occupier has established actual authority is regarded as occupied territory. If, for example, an aggressor has temporarily captured territory consisting of 30 settlements and if combat and resistance continue in a majority of those settlements, the occupation would pertain only to those settlements where the aggressor has broken the resistance and achieved obedience of the population.

The United Nations Charter (Article 51) grants every state the inalienable right to defend itself against aggression. The 1949 Geneva Convention legitimized resistance movements. In the definition of aggression adopted by the United Nations it is stated that occupation is a direct contradiction of the principle of territorial inviolability, that it comes about as a consequence of armed attack, and that it represents a de facto situation which the people and state whose territorial integrity has been violated can alter by armed force used in the form of self-defense. The right to self-defense may be exercised so long as the armed force of the aggressor's state is physically displaying his presence in whatever form and in whatever part of the territorial space of the state that is the victim of the armed attack. In Article 5, Paragraph 3, of the definition of aggression, the legal force of the state of occupation and annexation is denied: "No territorial acquisition or special advantage resulting from aggression is lawful, nor shall it be recognized as such." Consequently, occupation has no legal effect on exercise of a people's right to self-defense on captured territory. The provisions of Article 7 of the definition of aggression have reinforced the legal basis of the struggle for liberation from all forms of foreign domination and grant the right to use armed force in all forms of struggle for liberation of enslaved peoples, which in international law in general has given the liberation struggle the status of self-defense against aggression.

This rather lengthy interpretation of the standards of international law was aimed at giving readers the fullest possible understanding that the provisions of our constitution and law concerning nonrecognition of occupation do not collide with the standards of international law in this area. One can conclude that international law does not prevent a state from regulating its right to defense against aggression in the manner it deems fit. This means that even under the standards of international law our country has the right to prescribe rules of behavior for all those involved in defense in a state of war. It is another question whether the prescribed standards are indeed an expression of the real state of society and real possibilities, which is beyond question in our country's case. In all types of possible aggression against Yugoslavia the aggressor will strive to achieve his aims, which would be the following: destruction of our social system of socialist self-management, imposition of his own authority and domination, enslavement of our nationalities and ethnic minorities, the capture of our space and utilization of the country's economic potential and other resources. In other words, any aggressor would strive to occupy our entire country or parts of it (limited aggression).

conditions for permission, and other regulations in connection with this are established by means of a decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 20. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance will introduce, on the basis of the documentation presented by the Department of Civil Aviation, the corresponding changes in the economic and financial indicators and in the volume and structure of the 1976 state budget.

Article 21. The names "Ministry of National Defense" or "Civil Aviation Command--TAROM" in the regulatory acts in force that refer to the activity of civil aviation are replaced with the name "Department of Civil Aviation."

Article 22. The appendix to Article 2, Paragraph 2, and to Article 20, Paragraph 3, of Decree No 162/1973 on the establishment of uniform structural standards for economic units, "Air Transportation," is amended in accordance with Appendix 6.\*

Article 23. Appendices 1-6 are an integral part of the present decree.

Article 24. Decree No 419/1972 on the transfer of civil aeronautical activity and civil aviation units to the Ministry of National Defense, and points 1 and 2 of Chapter II and points 1-4 of Chapter IV in Appendix 3 to Decision No 1303/1972 of the Council of Ministers on some measures referring to the transfer of civil aeronautical activity and civil aviation units to the Ministry of National Defense, are repealed.

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\* The appendix was communicated to the institutions involved.

12105  
CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION ON CAPITULATION ANALYZED

Belgrade VOJNO DELO in Serbo-Croatian No 5, Sep-Oct 76 pp 79-88

[Article by Col Bosko Todorovic: "The Constitutional Principle of Non-recognition of Occupation and Capitulation"]

[Text] A need has been felt for fuller clarification of occupation as a category so that a better and fuller understanding can be obtained of occupation and all its consequences. First of all, we rightly equate the occupation of a state or of a part of it with the concept of enslavement. In other words, this signifies depriving a people, state or part of it of basic rights and the imposing of the will of one nation or state upon another people or peoples. The consequences of this situation are manifold and very grave. Those consequences are moral and political, legal, sociological, psychological and so on. In short, occupation deprives people and nations of a basic human ideal--freedom.

It is logically consistent that in our self-managed socialist society an issue so important and fateful for the working people and citizens and the nationalities and ethnic minorities cannot be decided by anyone else. It is in this context that we should place the provision of Article 238 of the SFRY Constitution, which reads as follows:

"No one shall have the right to recognize or sign a capitulation, nor to accept or recognize occupation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or any part of it. No one shall have the right to prevent citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from fighting against an enemy who has attacked the country. Such acts are unconstitutional and punishable as treason. Treason is the gravest crime against the people and is punishable as a serious crime."

The Law on National Defense has gone on to elaborate this important constitutional principle, and in Article 7, Paragraph 3, it states: "Should an enemy temporarily capture a portion of Yugoslav territory, the working people and citizens, units of the armed forces, bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities, basic organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, and sociopolitical and

other civic organizations located on that territory, shall continue armed combat and other forms of nationwide resistance to the enemy, shall act in accordance with the statutes of Yugoslavia, and shall carry out the decisions and orders of the bodies directing nationwide resistance on that piece of territory."

These provisions of the constitution and the Law on National Defense put in legal language the readiness and determination of our country's working people and citizens and nationalities and ethnic minorities to fight for their freedom even under the most difficult wartime conditions. These provisions are actually the legislative formulation of the defense concept we have adopted and of our conception of the right to freedom and independence and the right to defend them.

In adopting these positions concerning occupation and capitulation our country rejects the outdated ideas that it is enough for a stronger aggressor to carry out aggression and invade a country, to capture its most important junctions and centers with its armed forces, to proclaim occupation, and thereby to subdue and vanquish the country and the people. In the National Liberation War, after all, we demonstrated that there is no occupation nor hopeless situation for a people which is united, determined and ready to fight for its freedom and independence. The government and army of prewar Yugoslavia capitulated in the very first days of the war in April 1941, but the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia did not capitulate, but, led by the Communist Party, continued the struggle against the aggressor until ultimate victory was won. This experience of our own was later confirmed by other liberation and revolutionary wars, especially the war in Vietnam. This means that the positions we have taken concerning nonrecognition of occupation represent a reality based on the system of self-management socialism and the rich experience from the National Liberation War and the revolution. The standards of the international law of war, which we also will be discussing in this article, also lend reality to these positions.

Occupation is a military, political and legal category. It is the state of a territory or portion of the territory of a belligerent when because of the defender's resistance or withdrawal the aggressor (occupier) has succeeded in subduing and vanquishing the population and has achieved obedience of the population to the military government which he has set up. The following conditions must be fulfilled for a territory to be recognized as occupied: the armed forces and population on that territory must have ceased to offer any resistance whatsoever (armed or unarmed); the population must have submitted to the occupier and accepted his government. This would mean that on that territory the occupier had established his government by virtue of fact rather than any sort of declaration.

In Title XI (Wartime Occupation) the Yugoslav Armed Forces Manual on International Law of War elaborates the provisions of international law

which regulate the concept of occupation. We will quote the most important provisions in the manual:

In the context of international law territory is regarded as occupied when it is actually under the rule of the enemy armed forces. The occupation extends only to territory where that rule has been established and where it can be maintained. Actual maintenance of military government means the occupier's ability to impose his authority on the occupied territory. In spite of the presence of enemy forces, a territory is not occupied if the domestic armed forces, local or regional governmental agencies or bodies or the population frustrate the military government by offering resistance.

Occupation comes about only on that portion of territory on which the offering of all resistance has ceased, and the enemy has actually captured that portion of territory and is imposing his authority without hindrance.

An enemy's proclamation or announcement that he has established occupation has no legal force whatsoever unless the offering of resistance has ceased and the enemy has established his authority in fact.

Under the constitution and the Law on National Defense, the entire population on temporarily captured territory has a duty to continue armed combat and other forms of unarmed resistance to the aggressor and to act in accordance with the statutes of Yugoslavia. The standards of international law also provide that the population of occupied territory has the right to offer resistance to an aggressor at any time in order to liberate its territory or to prevent the establishment and exercise of military government on that territory. It is the position of international law that parts of the territory on which the enemy is unable to exercise his authority because of armed resistance are regarded as liberated territory on which the provisions concerning occupation do not apply.

Even the 1907 Hague Convention prescribed concerning occupation: that territory shall be regarded as occupied when it has been actually subjugated to the authority of the enemy military force and shall extend only to the territory where that authority has been established and is in condition of maintaining itself. It is evident from this provision that occupation is a de facto state of affairs, i.e., that a proclamation concerning establishment of military government has no significance whatsoever if the resistance of the armed forces or the population persists on that territory. Under international law an occupation is limited in both time and space. This state persists in time so long as the occupier is able to keep the population of a particular territory under his subjugation. As soon as combat and resistance begin, the state of occupation

actually ceases. The spatial limitation is that only that portion of the territory on which the occupier has established actual authority is regarded as occupied territory. If, for example, an aggressor has temporarily captured territory consisting of 30 settlements and if combat and resistance continue in a majority of those settlements, the occupation would pertain only to those settlements where the aggressor has broken the resistance and achieved obedience of the population.

The United Nations Charter (Article 51) grants every state the inalienable right to defend itself against aggression. The 1949 Geneva Convention legitimized resistance movements. In the definition of aggression adopted by the United Nations it is stated that occupation is a direct contradiction of the principle of territorial inviolability, that it comes about as a consequence of armed attack, and that it represents a de facto situation which the people and state whose territorial integrity has been violated can alter by armed force used in the form of self-defense. The right to self-defense may be exercised so long as the armed force of the aggressor's state is physically displaying his presence in whatever form and in whatever part of the territorial space of the state that is the victim of the armed attack. In Article 5, Paragraph 3, of the definition of aggression, the legal force of the state of occupation and annexation is denied: "No territorial acquisition or special advantage resulting from aggression is lawful, nor shall it be recognized as such." Consequently, occupation has no legal effect on exercise of a people's right to self-defense on captured territory. The provisions of Article 7 of the definition of aggression have reinforced the legal basis of the struggle for liberation from all forms of foreign domination and grant the right to use armed force in all forms of struggle for liberation of enslaved peoples, which in international law in general has given the liberation struggle the status of self-defense against aggression.

This rather lengthy interpretation of the standards of international law was aimed at giving readers the fullest possible understanding that the provisions of our constitution and law concerning nonrecognition of occupation do not collide with the standards of international law in this area. One can conclude that international law does not prevent a state from regulating its right to defense against aggression in the manner it deems fit. This means that even under the standards of international law our country has the right to prescribe rules of behavior for all those involved in defense in a state of war. It is another question whether the prescribed standards are indeed an expression of the real state of society and real possibilities, which is beyond question in our country's case. In all types of possible aggression against Yugoslavia the aggressor will strive to achieve his aims, which would be the following: destruction of our social system of socialist self-management, imposition of his own authority and domination, enslavement of our nationalities and ethnic minorities, the capture of our space and utilization of the country's economic potential and other resources. In other words, any aggressor would strive to occupy our entire country or parts of it (limited aggression).

Our hard and fast position is that there is no occupation and there is no such thing as territory lost and abandoned, but that the struggle against the aggressor will be waged on every foot of earth and under all conditions, regardless of whether that territory is temporarily captured or not. This means that in any case of aggression against Yugoslavia, by whomsoever it is carried out, there will be a conflict between two wills and two conceptions: one, the aggressor's, which strives to shatter our system of defense, above all our armed forces, by using the blitzkrieg strategy of surprise and strong attacks, to thwart the organization and development of large-scale nationwide resistance, to completely liquidate all forms of combat and resistance, and to establish full control over the entire space of Yugoslavia, and the other, which is our response to any aggressor, consisting of imposing our own will and our own concept of combat and resistance. And that means a prolonged and exhausting war in which the ultimate outcome will be in our favor. We will impose our strategy of armed combat and resistance on any aggressor, which from the very outset will impose on the aggressor numerous unfamiliar situations in which he will suffer heavy losses. And all of that will continue until all necessary conditions obtain for taking the initiative at all levels so as to finally overpower and dispel the aggressor and drive him from our space.

In its consistent expression of our conception of nationwide defense concerning prohibition of occupation on the entire territory of Yugoslavia or a part of it, our constitution has introduced a new category in military defense and law, the concept of temporarily captured territory, which is not a synonym of the concept of conquered or occupied territory in either military or legal terms. There are certain misunderstandings concerning this term, which is sometimes wrongly interpreted. We still come across cases, which are not exactly rare, when the concept of temporarily captured territory is equated with the concept of temporarily conquered territory. However, these are two essentially different concepts, and it is no accident that the writers of the constitution chose the phrase "temporarily captured territory" and that we do not encounter the term "temporarily conquered territory" in any statute.

Occupied territory and conquered territory are synonyms. The word "occupied" comes from French; the French word *occupe* means conquered. Adhering consistently to the principle of nonrecognition of occupation, the constitution has introduced this new term, which denotes that territory into which the aggressor has temporarily penetrated but where he has not been able to establish his authority, since the combat and resistance of the armed forces and other participants in defense are continuing on that territory. Our conception of nationwide defense and our positive law do not deny the possibility of an aggressor's possible penetration onto our territory, but it does deny him the possibility of establishing his authority on that territory. An aggressor may be physically present on certain parts of our territory, but in no case dare we allow him to set up his government. This context imparts exceptional importance to the provisions

which prohibit Yugoslav citizens from participating as public servants or in any other status in the work of public bodies, institutions, civic and economic organizations which are located on temporarily captured territory and which are serving the aggressor. All members of society located on such territory are compelled by law to continue armed combat and other forms of nationwide resistance to an enemy, to /act in accordance with the statutes of Yugoslavia/ (emphasis supplied by the author), and to carry out the decisions and commands of those bodies or agencies which are supervising nationwide resistance on that piece of territory.

This does not mean that Yugoslav citizens who happen to be on temporarily captured territory shall not continue to work at certain jobs under any conditions. Those working people will continue to work whose production and activity have vital importance to our population on that piece of territory. This means that only our legitimate governmental authorities on temporarily captured territory shall make an assessment and decide which organizations of associated labor and services in the production field and other fields are to continue operation even under those conditions. But working people employed in these organizations will know that it is their wartime assignment to remain at their jobs and to continue work, since this is in the interest of the population, our combat and resistance. A great number of working people in such jobs will at the same time be carrying out many other wartime missions and carrying on commando, intelligence, propaganda and other activity. That is, in the daytime they will be working at their jobs, while at night they will be carrying out other assignments given them by the authorities directing combat and resistance in that area.

Our entire system of nationwide defense has been conceived, organized and prepared so as to provide for the waging of armed combat, the accomplishment of all forms of unarmed resistance to an aggressor, and the functioning of the sociopolitical and socioeconomic system under all conditions of an aggression. Our commitment not to allow a single foot of land to fall to the aggressor and to continue armed combat and all forms of resistance everywhere and under all conditions has been fully applied in all our defense preparations to date.

Proceeding from the principle that in nationwide defense armed combat is the decisive form of opposition to aggression, we have designed the organization of the armed forces so that armed combat can be waged under all wartime conditions and so that there will be armed forces to cover the entire territory. Our armed forces--the Yugoslav People's Army and territorial defense--which operate on the basis of a single combat strategy and which have a unified system for direction and command and for recruitment and mobilization, guarantee that armed combat will be waged continuously on every piece of territory regardless of whether it has been temporarily captured or not; all other forms of unarmed resistance to an aggressor receive an essential impetus from this and are dependent upon it.



Our combat strategy envisages differing forms of combat depending on the type of aggression, the goal the aggressor is striving to achieve, and relative strength in the particular wartime situation. Provision is made for the possibility of waging combined, frontal and even guerrilla warfare. The basic proposition is that whatever the situation we dare not and cannot leave any piece of territory on which there are no armed forces, on which there is no armed struggle and resistance. The solution is to develop intensive armed struggle on a piece of territory which the aggressor has managed to capture temporarily and to assume first the tactical initiative and then the operational initiative as well. This concept of defense guarantees that we will develop uninterrupted and intensive armed struggle on temporarily captured territory and that such territory will actually become a reversed or inverted front\* for the aggressor, and the further the possible penetration his forces make into the depths of the territory, the more forces he will be compelled to commit to waging combat so as to keep at least a physical hold on what he has temporarily captured. Territorial defense units have great importance to continuity in the waging of combat on parts of territory which the aggressor has temporarily captured; this applies above all to those units which are firmly bound to that particular territory and whose principal task is always to find suitable methods of combat, to prevent any attempt to establish a military government, to interdict any form of collaboration with the aggressor, to make it possible for our social system to function without hindrance even under the most difficult conditions, and to protect our population and property. This type of territorial defense unit--the units of local communities and of organizations of associated labor--is the type which is most common, since there is not a single settlement nor piece of territory where these units are not present. Moreover, these are also the most suitable units for massive involvement of the population in combat.

Although combat has primary importance for the ultimate victory over the aggressor and is an essential condition for carrying out massive and diverse forms of unarmed resistance to an aggressor, we should stress the fact that armed and unarmed forms of struggle and resistance represent a dialectical unity, are interwoven with each other, complement one another, and depend on one another. In theory and in practice we stress that massive unarmed resistance to an aggressor is difficult to imagine without combat and also the fact that the effective functioning of the sociopolitical system and the display of massive unarmed resistance to an aggressor under all wartime conditions is an essential condition for the effective waging of combat.

In the context of the extensive and all-inclusive preparations of society, which under our conditions assume strategic importance, an important place goes to the work of working out defense plans in every structural unit and at all levels. The defense plans provide for the organized transition to wartime conditions and the involvement and commitment of all personnel and

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\* That is, front created in enemy's rear--Translator's note.

physical potential in nationwide defensive warfare. The defense plans devised in the agencies and organizations of sociopolitical communities state the makeup and strength of society's personnel and materiel and the manner of their use in wartime. These plans form a unified whole with plans governing the use of the armed forces. All the plans of sociopolitical communities envisage the measures, organization, forces and procedures even in the most difficult wartime situation, including the case of temporary capture of territory.

In planning the functioning of the sociopolitical system on temporarily captured territory we take as our point of departure the rich experience gained in the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution, which teach us that great deeds in warfare are accomplished only when the people and the armed forces, the command and units, the fighting men and the officers constitute an entity that is imbued with a single ideology and the same political aspirations. United in their efforts and imbued with the revolutionary optimism which wells up out of our contemporary social achievements, the people and the armed forces are invincible and are capable of effectively solving all problems in a possible war; this has indeed been demonstrated by our own experiences and by those of other revolutionary and liberation wars since World War II. The point of departure in defense plans is that nowhere on territory which has been temporarily captured dare we allow the continuity of our government to be interrupted, since this would offer the aggressor a chance to establish some authority of his own.

Numerous and diverse measures are envisaged in the defense plans of sociopolitical communities to ensure the functioning of the system and to prevent any establishment of military government on temporarily captured territory. It is clear to all those participating in defense preparations that it is up to us and us alone if we want to achieve continuity in struggle and resistance and the functioning of the sociopolitical system even under the conditions of temporarily captured territory.

A possible aggressor's endeavors to achieve the goal of his aggression and to subdue and vanquish the population on the territory which he holds temporarily must always be our reference point as we plan our organization, measures and actions concerning work and operations even under the most difficult wartime conditions. The imperialist forces which undertake to conquer and enslave other peoples and territory carefully study and prepare their personnel and materiel and work out a method of establishing military government on territory which they capture. Elaboration of a system for establishing military government is in fact an integral part of the plan of an aggression, since the goals of the aggression are actually achieved by virtue of the occupation. It is well known that certain great powers have very strong armed formations and other specialized forces and organizations whose exclusive purpose is to set up the military government on territories which they capture. In addition to the armed forces for establishing the occupation, units are also trained for

civil administration, military police, intelligence and counterintelligence organizations and institutions, news and propaganda, and other institutions. All of these forces count on the extremist political emigre community and remnants of the enemy within.

It is especially important from the standpoint of our defense preparations that we provide the forces, measures and procedures for vigorous interdiction and thorough eradication of every form of collaboration and possible establishment of a Quisling government on parts of the territory which have been temporarily captured. All past experience indicates that all aggressors and conquerors in the past have sought points of support and reliance among inhabitants of the countries which may have attacked and attempted to enslave. It would be hard for any conqueror to hold on without support within the country which he has subjugated.

The continuous development and strengthening of the self-managed socialist society strengthen the social consciousness and socialist patriotism of the working people and citizens. However, one should not overlook the fact that there are still remnants of the old class society and individuals who are not reconciled to our concept of social development. Second, in all difficult situations there have been and will be groups and individuals who have wavered or who will waver, and the situation in which an aggressor has temporarily captured territory would be one of the most difficult situations. The waverers have frequently been a convenient prey for the enemy. It is therefore important to stress the fact that the better our organization, the more strongly felt the presence of all our forces and our measures on temporarily captured territory, the fewer dilemmas and the less vacillation there will be on the part of individuals choosing sides and deciding what to do. The felt presence of our continuous and well-organized measures and actions on temporarily captured territory will have inestimable importance to the fighting spirit of soldiers, units and the population on that territory. It will stand as persuasive proof that the presence of the aggressor's forces does not thereby signify his victory.

The determination and readiness of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities and all our working people and citizens to defend their independence and self-management socialism represents an essential prerequisite for the organized activity of all participants in society on temporarily captured territory. In addition to this basic condition, there is also a need for numerous actions, procedures and efforts in defense preparations of all participants aimed at successful performance of wartime tasks even under the most difficult wartime conditions. Therefore, as sociopolitical communities, local communities, organizations of associated labor, sociopolitical organizations and all others responsible for defense preparations devise their defense plans and other documents, it is not enough to foresee, plan and supply in physical terms everything necessary for effective and well-organized transition to a wartime footing, but one must also foresee the organization, forces, materiel, tasks and measures which would

MEETING OF CATHOLIC, ORTHODOX THEOLOGIANs

Ljubljana DRUZINA in Slovenian 3 Oct 76 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ivan Merlak]

[Text] Lovran, 20-23 September 1976--The most prominent Orthodox and Catholic theologians of Yugoslavia met today at the seminary annex here on invitation by the Zagreb Catholic faculty of theology to discuss propagation of the Gospel in this country.

The delegation of the Belgrad, Zagreb, and Ljubljana faculties were led by Associate Dean Blagota Gradasevic, Dean Sagi Bunic, and Dean Franc Perko, respectively. A total of 70 participants were in attendance including the archbishop and metropolitan of Rijeka, Josip Pavlisic, the bishop of Maribor, Maksimilijan Drzecnik, president of the Ecumenical Commission of JSK, and the assistant bishop of Maribor, Vekoslav Grmic, who was also one of the speakers.

Evangelization and its manifestations among the Orthodox was discussed by Cedimir Draskovic, professor of the faculty of theology in Belgrad. The Catholics were particularly interested in the ways and means of evangelization with our Orthodox believers. Draskovic stated that "today religious service is the most appropriate and in some instances the only means the church has to protect, nurture, and foster the religious life of its believers." Baptismal, nuptial, and funeral rites, as well as other devotions such as prayer meetings are all utilized for evangelizing. On these occasions the priest always puts across some ideas. The well-known baptismal feast is another suitable occasion for evangelization. The lecturer, however, admitted that they cannot point with pride to their religious publications and that their church is "not in an enviable position" with respect to religious instruction. He concluded by reporting the encouraging fact that the number of young people who are deciding to become priests is increasing. Their four seminaries and the Belgrade faculty of theology are endeavoring to develop Evangelists who will be attuned to contemporary needs.

In the conversation it could be sensed that there are two principal directions among our Orthodox. The first (monastic) advocates strict observance

of the Orthodox traditions and accepts the adjustments to contemporary man with reservations although it does not repudiate them in principle. The other, which was most clearly expressed by Jovan Nikolic, the Orthodox rector from Zagreb, demands that the Orthodox Church, too, should examine the concept of tradition and arrive at a clear distinction between its divine and human elements. The Orthodox should be willing to adapt the latter to the needs of evangelizing of our time and place.

The Catholic speakers were not sparing with criticism of the processes associated with evangelizing among the Slovenians and Croats in the past as well as at present. However, all the criticism was leveled in the interest of truth which makes men free.

Professors Sagi Bunic and Josip Turcinovic of the Zagreb faculty lectured on the phenomenology of evangelizing with the Catholic Christians in our area. In their introductory remarks they emphasized that their lecture was an attempt to come up with answers rather than a definite solution and that they were limiting their remarks to the Slovenians and Croats only. Their references to the Slovenian background were based primarily on the article "Straits and Expanses of Our Past" [Ozine in sirine v nasi preteklosti] published by Professor Perko in the second issue of this year's ecclesiastic review CERKEV V SEDANJEM SVETU [The Church in the Contemporary World].

Lecturers representing the Ljubljana faculty of theology were professors Valter Dermota and Vekoslav Grmic. Both discussed the advantages and difficulties of contemporary evangelizing. The former treated this question from the psycho-sociological and the latter from the ecclesiastic-theological aspect.

The participants assessed all lectures to be of very high quality. (We wish to point out that they will be published in the Slovenian Ecumenical Committee's yearbook V EDINOSTI [In Unity].)

Discussions following the talks were rather lively, sharp on occasion, but generally conducted in the style of free dialog (a few minor slips are not worth mentioning). We must concur with the statement of the dean of the Zagreb faculty of theology Sagi Bunic who said: "We can never attain something that we cannot exhaustively examine in all its ramifications." A theology student from Belgrade speaking on behalf of the young participants on the last day of the proceedings remarked that the lectures were too theoretical and not sufficiently attuned to the actual situation. This inspired the following important thought of Dean Sagi Bunic. "We of the old generation, have brought the ecumenical movement to this point, now you, the young, can develop it further."

Conclusions of the lectures and discussions are summarized in a joint communique, the full text of which is published on this page. The very fact that this meeting took place can be considered an event of historical importance.

The atmosphere at the symposium was friendly. In this the role of the Rijeka Archbishop Pavlisic was of great importance. He attended all the sessions and gave a reception for the participants in the sister house at Drenova above Rijeka. At the conclusion of the symposium he stated in the Porec cathedral that the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia is striving to achieve unity. Pavlisic is a member of the JSK committee on operations, which gives special weight to his words.

The excellent organization of the symposium under the guidance of the Zagreb theology professor Adalbert Rebic contributed to the pleasant atmosphere. The conclusion of the symposium with a joint prayer meeting and the singing of Eastern and Western hymns under the marvelously restored mosaics of the Porec cathedral (dating back to the 5th and 6th centuries when the Christian East and West were still united) lent to the scholarly dissertations a spiritual and emotional dimension and a vision of the future. The Mother of God whose image occupies such an eminent place on the mosaic is a mother to all of us joined in the unity of the church.

In the Porec cathedral the participants at the symposium were warmly welcomed by the Bishop of Porec and Pula who then invited them to a snack at his home.

The representatives of the Zagreb and Belgrade faculties mentioned on several occasions the important role of the Ljubljana faculty of theology and its Maribor division in the ecumenical encounters of theologians, for it was at the symposium held in Maribor 2 years ago that the ice was broken.

At the concluding luncheon in the Lovacki Dom [Hunter's House] motel above Pazin bishop Drzecnik, president of the Ecumenical Commission of JSK and the host of the first symposium, too, addressed the participants. He said that the second symposium represented a considerable advance toward the rapprochement of the sisterly churches in Yugoslavia. With this we can all agree.

12070

CSO: 2800

STANE KOLMAN APPOINTED NEW RELIGION COMMISSION PRESIDENT

Ljubljana DRUZINA in Slovenian 17 Oct 76 p 1

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 October 1976--At its last session the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic Slovenia relieved Rudi Cacinovic and Tone Poljsak of their duties as president and vice president of the Commission on Religious Communities Relations. The new president became Stane Kolman who was previously the ambassador of the Socialist People's Republic of Yugoslavia to the Holy See. Yesterday the new and the former leaders of the commission met with the representatives of religious communities at a luncheon in villa Podroznik.

In his remarks at the luncheon Rudi Cacinovic assessed the relations between the society and religious communities in our republic as favorable, which he attributed in part to the new legislation on the legal status of religious communities. In the drafting of this legislation, he pointed out, the representatives of all religious communities that are active in Slovenia collaborated.

The bishops and other representatives of religious communities emphasized their commitment to uphold the rights of our national minorities and expressed their concern at the increased pressure to which Slovenians are being exposed in Austrian Carinthia.

The luncheon, which was given by Rudi Cacinovic, vice president of the executive council and previous president of the Commission on Religious Communities Relations, was attended by all five Slovenian bishops, the dean and associate dean of the faculty of theology, representatives of the Slovenian society of priests and the representatives of the Slovenian Protestant Church.

The meeting in villa Podroznik was a farewell of the previous leaders of the Commission on Religious Communities Relations and the introduction of the new ones. Rudi Cacinovic, the former president, was relieved of his duties and will stay on as vice president of the executive council while Tone Poljsak, the vice president, is leaving for another assignment.

The new president became Stane Kolman, who has hitherto served as the ambassador of the SFRJ to the Holy See. Stane Kolman was born in Pivka (Sempeter) on 25 April 1923. He is a graduate of the Economic Sciences School of Higher Learning in Belgrade and took an active part in the war of national liberation. After the war he performed various duties in the federal government and served, among other things, as a personal secretary of Edvard Kardelj. In 1949 he entered the foreign service. In addition to certain assignments in the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs he served abroad as the first secretary of the embassy in Paris, chief of the consular mission in Metz, France, counsellor at the embassy in Ankara, charge d'affaires and later ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of Mongolia. From September 1968 to July 1969 he was special consultant of the state secretary for foreign affairs and subsequently the republic undersecretary in the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic Slovenia. From February 1972 to January 1976 he was the ambassador of SFRJ to the Holy See. At present he is a member of the Slovenian Socialist Alliance of Working People republic committee and member of the executive committee of the Slovenian Emigrants' Foundation [Slovenska Izselska Matica].

He received several decorations both at home and abroad. On leaving the Vatican he was also awarded a high decoration by Pope Paul VI. Stane Kolman is married and has two daughters.

At the beginning of his new assignment we wish him success in shaping and regulating the relations between the religious communities and society.

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ISLAM IN SLOVENIA, YUGOSLAVIA

Ljubljana DRUZINA in Slovenian 17 Oct 76 p 3

[Text] Moslems Striving for Awareness

Ljubljana, 10 October 1976--In the auditorium of the Ljubljana faculty of theology, the use of which was approved by Archbishop Pogacnik, gathered a large number of Moslems from Slovenia. The central point of the gathering was a lecture on Islam and science delivered by a member of the Moslem religious community Sabor [Assembly] in Sarajevo. The chanting of the hymns was attended by representatives of the Ljubljana divinity school faculty including dean Dr France Perko.

There are many Moslems employed in the Socialist Republic Slovenia. There is no doubt about it. If you do not believe this all you have to do is take a short evening stroll through the city and you will meet little groups of people recognizable by the way they talk. Many of them have remained religious Moslems, others are indifferent, as is, after all, the case also among us Christians. Recently, however, they are becoming increasingly more aware. Their numbers, too, are considerable.

Numerical Strength of Islam

In conversation with the lecturer following the ceremony I found out interesting facts. There are approximately 2,000 Moslem priests (imams) and other ecclesiastic servants in Yugoslavia. In 1976 the Usrev-beg intermediate level school of divinity had an enrollment of 350 students, 50 will be graduating and an equal number of new students will be admitted. Fifty Moslem priests will, accordingly, go among the people. The Alaudin intermediate level school of divinity has 150 students (seminarians). Some go and continue their studies in Cairo, Baghdad, and Libya. Upon their return after completion of their studies these graduates take up the more eminent positions while those who have had only intermediate level education remain ordinary imams.

The school for Islamic religious instruction is called "Mekteb." This is the school attended by children during their free time. The total number of Moslem children attending these schools is 150,000.

Every year the Moslem religious community organizes a pilgrimage to Mecca. A visit to Mecca is a lifelong desire of every Moslem. Every year 400 Moslems from Yugoslavia travel to the principal center of the Moslem religious community. A trip has been organized for this year, too. For a pilgrimage lasting 12 to 15 days every pilgrim will pay a million and a half of old dinars. They are accompanied by physicians, guides, and interpreters.

Next year instruction will begin in a Moslem divinity school in Sarajevo. Approximately 50 first year students are expected to enroll. Interested lay students will also be admitted. At present preparations are under way to set up the programs of study. For this purpose they are examining the basic statutes of Roman Catholic faculties, primarily those in Zagreb and Ljubljana. The intermediate level Moslem divinity school has already moved into the new building.

In Ryad, capital of Saudi Arabia, an institute has been established for the study of life, work, and problems of Moslem minorities throughout the world. Sarajevo has an important cultural institution in the Gazi-Husrev beg library, the collections of which contain source material and literature on the religious and cultural heritage of Moslems in Yugoslavia. In addition the Moslem community publishes several newspapers. Students of the intermediate level divinity school in Sarajevo publish their own paper ZEM-ZEM (Fountainspring of Life).

In the last 100 years four translations of the Koran have been published in Yugoslavia. This month a translation of the Koran by Professor Korkut will be published right here in Ljubljana. This edition will be most attractive of all, perhaps even the most attractive in all Europe. In December the two volumes of "Life and Work of Mohammed" by the Sorbonne professor Hamidulah will be published in Zagreb.

In Yugoslavia there are 3.5 million Moslems. Of this 2 million are Slavs, 300,000 Macedonian Turks, and the rest Albanians. There are 2,000 mosques with minarets and 500 more without minarets (masjids).

In Ljubljana, the Slovenian metropolis, there are a total of 400 Moslem families, 600 if the surrounding area is included. Another 150 Moslem families live in the Slovenian Littoral (Piran, Koper, Izola). They are visited from time to time by the imam from Zagreb. At the ceremony in Ljubljana the member of the supreme Sabor promised an imam also for Slovenia.

God Forgive Me--I Repent

"He who guards himself against sin will partake of heavenly happiness, he will have all things that are of the Lord," says the Koran. Imam Alagic Himso from Zagreb led the prayers in Arabic. President Begovic addressed greetings to any and all and concluded by invoking God's blessing for all.

The speaker, holder of a doctorate in science, was a member of the Sarajevo Sabor. Islam and education. He spoke convincingly and at times with pathos. Brother Moslems, you are living in Slovenia, economically and culturally the most highly developed republic, learn from them. Religion and science are not adversaries, on the contrary, they supplement each other. The first work in the Koran is "ikre"--read, learn, investigate, reflect, search. Mohammed requires that we think about God's works.

The member of the Sabor put forth a demand for a mosque in Slovenia. We have a right to it. Over 60,000 Moslems are living here. You must build it. See to it. Look at the Christians, they are building churches everywhere. The mosque in Ljubljana must be attractive, a tourist showpiece. The Christians should assist us in this endeavor.

In the second part of his talk the speaker appealed to the Moslems in the audience to support with donations the funding of their Moslem religious community. Their contributions will support the imam whom the Sabor will send among the Slovenian Moslems. This is a matter of supporting the leaders of the Moslem religious community. The structure of this community is quite involved and provides employment to many persons. At the head of the Moslem Community [Islamska Zajednica] in the SFRJ is the Supreme Sabor with headquarters in Sarajevo. This organization includes a total of 35 persons, both priests and laymen. The highest religious authority is the Supreme Moslem Council of Elders over which presides Reis-Ul-Ulema. In the federal republics there are four other Sabors of the Moslem community--these are some kind of assemblies. These consist of purely religious authorities and the elders and are always headed by a theologian. In SFRJ there are approximately 250 committees. All this community must be supported by the believers. Salaries of all imams and other ecclesiastic officials are paid from the common general fund.

The structure of the Moslem religious community is probably not an end in itself. It is intertwined with the endeavors for the awakening and revival of Moslems as well as with the search of new ways. Thus the editorial in the October issue of the Moslem religious periodical in conveying the holiday greetings emphasized the need of Moslem believers for "a new interpretation of the faith in new circumstances of daily life through which one can find his own true image, his real self and the purpose of his existence."

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INTERVIEW WITH THEOLOGICAL FACULTY DEAN PERKO

Ljubljana DRUZINA in Slovenian 17 Oct 76 p 4

[Text] Behind the walls of the one time Aloysius student home on Poljanska cesta [Poljanska Street] is a new annex housing the faculty of theology. The edifice looks attractive, too--it cost enough. Hard work of all religious Slovenians contributed to its construction. Here is where students of theology attend their lectures on ecclesiastic doctrine, a curriculum that takes a full 6 years. They are being trained for the very special mission of the priest working among the religious Slovenian people. In 6 years of instruction a series of 35 lecturers tell the students about what God revealed to man, what man discovered for himself, about society, the world, humanity, the church, and many other things. Six years. Not a short time, is it? Upon completion of the fifth year the candidates are consecrated as priests. Would you like to know how many? Last year there was a total of 270 students, this year there are 29 new ones, a considerable drop in enrollment in comparison with the previous years. Only a few years ago there were 60 new students, last year there were 40. The readers who like the figures and look for profits will be interested to learn that the regular and associate professors receive their monthly emolument from the faculty funds. The regular professors receive 250,000 old dinars, associate professors 230,000, docents 200,000 old dinars while all the other lecturers are paid a fixed fee per lecture. This is their monthly salary. The fund receives contributions from ecclesiastic sources, students' enrollment fees, and, last year, a somewhat larger contribution from the Socialist Republic Slovenia's Commission on Religious Communities Relations.

The interview with the dean of the faculty of theology, Dr France Perko, will provide our readers with a deeper insight into things that go on at the faculty and reveal many points of interest.

[Question] Do you perceive any significant differences between the generations of students enrolling in the school of theology?

[Answer] It would be difficult to speak about any particular differences. Differences between classes do exist but only on the intellectual level.

Sometimes a class is very capable and at other times there are again difficulties. This year the number of new enrollments dropped considerably. It is interesting that in the years of high enrollment the interest for theological studies was not at a high level. In recent years, however, it is precisely the interest in theological studies that is growing. This may be the result of the faculty's efforts to induce the students to apply themselves more diligently.

[Question] Does the study of theology provide adequate preparation for handling the real life problems among the people?

[Answer] The old adage that is repeated over and over is that theological studies do not adequately prepare a priest for his duties in the parish. A theology graduate with all the studies behind him cannot find his way when confronted with real life problems. I maintain, however, that study of theology must form a person that is distinguished by broad scholarly outlook and certitude of his faith. Specific approaches to parish work cannot be offered by theology. It does, however, shape the foundations for religious instruction, evangelizing, and priestly duties in accordance with the provisions of faculties' statutes. The parish work also depends on the priest's personality. To solve the problems of preparation for parish work we shall probably have to postpone the consecrations until after the completion of the sixth year which would then indeed be oriented toward practical work.

[Question] What are the basic tenets of your statute?

[Answer] Following the Ecumenical Council in Rome, special standards for modernization of Catholic universities and theological faculties were designated. A few years ago our faculty, too, prepared a new statute which was approved by Rome. In addition we have special regulations for the faculty's operation. The statute regulates the faculty's leadership, appointments and promotions of the staff, duties and privileges of students, and the curriculum itself. At our faculty we elected not to make radical changes in the curriculum but we did rearrange parts of it and placed greater emphasis on the individual work of students. The statute makes it mandatory for the faculty to encourage a dialog with people of other religions and the non-religious and we have a special chair for this purpose. In the sixth year the statute provides for a basic specialization which can be either in the biblical dogma, parish work and liturgy, or fundamental dialog group. Unfortunately, we have not yet fully implemented such specialization. A general canon is being drafted which will regulate the theological studies for the entire Catholic Church.

[Question] What is the faculty doing for the appropriate development of theology students as socialist citizens and for their understanding of socialist reality?

[Answer] In the first few years the study of philosophy also includes study of dialectical materialism. Students are introduced to socialist reality by the chair for dialog. A special subject is Constitutions and Elements of Socialist Self-Management. From time to time visiting professors from other faculties lecture on these subjects. Lectures of last year's visitors were very well received. The Cyril and Methodius Society of Slovenian Seminarians and its activities also contribute to citizenship education.

[Question] Are students of theology not discouraged by the fact that they will as priests work in an environment which is daily becoming more and more secularized?

[Answer] They originally came from the society to which they will return. At least, it does not seem to me that they see any particular difficulty in this for they have, after all, decided to become priests who will work in this society. This is evidenced by the fact that our faculty has a relatively low percentage of dropouts, 20 percent at most. The instructional staff, too, is aware of the reality in which our graduates will have to carry on their priestly calling. Accordingly, they are adapting their lectures to modern times. Preparation for the priestly calling in the contemporary world is certainly difficult and full of responsibility. Theology, however, cannot offer the students specific instruction on the performance of his parish duties, although there has recently been a great deal of emphasis on subjects dealing with religious teaching. Quite a few things should be changed. It seems, however, that our curriculum more or less suits the requirements of the church and its activities as they are presently structured. But it is another question whether this structure suits the contemporary needs of evangelizing.

[Question] The new law on religious communities has put the students of theology on an equal footing with all other university students. How is this manifested in practice?

[Answer] The matter is still somewhat uncertain with respect to medical insurance which, however, will certainly be provided. They are, likewise, entitled to other benefits, for example, transportation and the like. The only difficulty is with military service, which is regulated by federal law rather than by the republics. A student can be inducted into the Yugoslav People's Army in the middle of his studies which can have a very bad effect on his studies. It should be admitted that the republic Commission on Religious Communities Relations is very helpful and intercedes whenever possible so that students are called up after their second or third year, which is best for them. Of course, they are not eligible for reduction of their terms as their colleagues attending the state university.

[Question] Are there any theological antagonisms among the faculty?

[Answer] There do not appear to be. There are, of course, differences between theological attitudes of which some could be said to be more and others less progressive. The faculty has a more youthful makeup since most of its members completed their studies after the Ecumenical Council. They get along well with their senior colleagues, some of whom still continue to act as prefects. The younger and the older faculty are not antagonistic toward each other, a pleasing mutual trust has been established.

[Question] Who selects the dean of the faculty?

[Answer] He is elected every 2 years by the plenary council of the faculty, which includes all the academic staff and students' representatives. The dean's duties are primarily coordination or, more precisely, administration. He convenes the meetings of the faculty council and conducts the affairs in accordance with the statute.

[Question] Are you satisfied with the academic achievement of your students?

[Answer] I have already stated that the interest for study has increased in recent years. Unfortunately, we find that the academic achievement of some seminarians from religious orders is somewhat lower than that of diocesan students. Last year unsatisfactory grades amounted to 10 percent, most of these were in the first few years. The average grade is quite high, namely, very good (8 out of 10). I am convinced that despite some imperfections the faculty of theology is successfully carrying out its important mission among our faithful people: it provides scholarly theological education to candidates for priesthood and makes available to all who wish to become more deeply acquainted with the mystery of the Christian revelation an in-depth and systematic study of theology.

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COMMENT ON AUSTRIAN NATIONALITY CENSUS

Ljubljana DRUZINA in Slovenian 31 Oct 76 p 3

[Text] This was the title of Professor Dr Janez Janzekovic's lecture held before the students, staff, and faculty of the Ljubljana faculty of theology assembled at a meeting protesting the intended special census in Austrian Carinthia. After first describing the difference between the ordinary census and a "special census," he continued:

"The purpose of the census is not objective determination of the national minority's numerical strength but rather an instrument of intimidation used to reduce the number of those who dare to declare their nationality to a minimum, so that Austria could then assume a pious pose claiming that the national minority has for all practical purposes disappeared because its members availed themselves of their 'right of assimilation.' The real purpose of the census is not determination of facts but intimidation. A leading Carinthian Slovenian was correct in saying: 'The census is quite unnecessary because they keep us all accounted for. They know full well who is true to his Slovenian nationality, who vacillates, and who is germanized. Should another Hitler again come to power no census at all would be needed to murder some of us, send others to concentration camps, and try to germanize the rest.'

"Man is first of all a creature of the family. And the family ties extend by themselves to the close and distant relatives. Thus the family of man continues to grow but this growth is not unlimited. Mankind allies itself into groups which are the result of national development and which are as strictly defined as beehives. Just as a common bond develops in a beehive joining individuals and setting them apart from other groups, so the growing family develops its own language which separates its members from people who speak differently. Language and blood divide mankind into groups and nations. Man is not only a social being in general terms, his social characteristics are quite definite: man is a being characterized by nationality.

"Nationality is man's natural 'beehive.' He is born to it and only within it can he develop freely and naturally. Why? Because of the two basic



elements constituting nationality, blood through which the kinship of our character is transmitted, making it similar to the environment by which we are shaped and influenced without creating imbalance of our mentality; and language which is created by the people and people alone. Through its language a nationality bears and propagates man's advancement and intellectual progress. Culture is not nurtured by the state as such, it is the nationalities that live in the states that are responsible for preserving their cultural heritage. No culture was destroyed when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy fell apart. The Germans retained their language, their traditions, science, arts as we continued to retain ours and other nationalities theirs. Peoples are the only natural and permanent societies capable of preserving their world-view traditions and transmitting them to the new generations.

"God who created us as beings possessing nationality took this into account when He revealed His truth to mankind. Although He could communicate the necessary religious mysteries directly and separately to each individual--by a series of miracles--He elected to use the natural way. This is why God chose a special people to whom He entrusted the treasure of faith. Neither an individual nor a class, position or state were chosen. It was God's will that a people would be the custodian and teacher of the divine revelation.

"The Messiah, too, was promised and sent first to a certain people and only through that people to all mankind. Jesus was aware of this fact and he emphasized it. Although he was kind in his dealings with the Samaritans, Canaanites and Romans he remained a true son of his people. Our Lord did not consider himself stateless. When a Canaanite woman implored him to heal her daughter he first turned her down saying: 'I am sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.' He, who as Son of God loved equally all nations and could rejoice over a Roman victory wept as Son of Man over the future destruction of his people's proud capital even though he knew that the very same Jerusalem was preparing his martyrdom and death. These tears of the Lord are the most illustrious testimony of love for his country and a dreadful indictment of those to whom nationality is something unimportant.

"The same love of his people is also reflected in Paul's letters. 'Whose are the fathers,' he says of the Israelites, 'and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ, who is over all, God blessed for ever.' (Romans 9,5). At this occasion his love for the nation of which he was a son brought forth words that hardly anyone would dare to pronounce today: 'For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh.' (Romans 9,2).

"The contemporary missionaries, too, are well aware that neither the individual nor the state but only the people is the bearer of Christianity. The missionary's purpose is not to convert as many individuals as possible

but to impart the Church of Christ with all peoples and to give them the Gospel to preserve and transmit to their children."

Professor Janzekovic continued to propound the truth that the faith views nationality as an important value. Reneging on one's nation is a heinous act regardless of by whom it is committed. Then he continued:

"To be a Slovenian is my way of being human. The same holds for members of other nationalities. Nationality and native language are the greatest natural values.

"The big nations such as the Germans and Italians, within whose territorial bounds live Slovenian national minorities, of course, need not be told this. A German will not become slovenianized or italianized nor will an Italian be germanized. The big nations are well aware that nationality is an extraordinary value for which everything, including life, must be put at stake. They know this so well that they overlook the fact that other nationalities not only their own have value. Is it not incredibly presumptuous to consider one's own nation to be 'lordly' and thinking that others should be subservient to it? Either all nationalities are values or none of them.

"Every nationality is a treasure that must be cherished, nurtured, and preserved. Every nationality is an individual entity with some characteristics that no one else possesses. Each nationality contributes to the diversity of mankind. And the historical circumstances have had it so that in the midst of the German people, who are among the most highly developed and most gifted people in the world, live fragments of Slavic nations including a small Slovenian minority in Carinthia. Is this not most interesting? In the midst of the German people lives another small people who speak an entirely different language, have a somewhat peculiar outlook, peculiar emotional makeup, possesses some virtues which Germans do not have and also some foibles that are not so apparent with other nationalities. In brief, the majority nationality should appreciate the Slovenian national minority as a curiosity, a rarity, and something special and original.

"How does one treat peculiarities and rarities, for example, with remnants of the Roman culture and ancient works of art? One protects them. I know that you are scandalized at the thought that man could be treated as animals and be protected as the hippopotamus. A nationality is entitled to a quite different degree of respect and protection than animal and vegetative species. Unfortunately, however, the state of affairs in the world today is such that many a national minority would be happy if the majority nationality would afford it the same degree of protection as is extended to rare animals.

"Preservation of the Slovenian minority on German soil is more to the advantage of the Germans than the minority itself. The pressure upon the

minority, gentle and discrete should be exerted in a diametrically opposite direction than has hitherto been the case. The Germans themselves should remind those Slovenians who are semi-germanized that they should not neglect their beautiful and interesting mother tongue, that they should send their children to Slovenian schools, and that they should remain true to their ancestral traditions.

"Is there anyone among the Germans who is capable of such magnanimity? Is the people that gave so many cultural giants to mankind, the people who brought forth Herder, incapable of it? There are many fine people among the Germans who condemn suppression of other nationalities. The Carinthian Slovenians know some, too, and invite them to their meetings. Some, like Werner Berg, would undoubtedly wish that the Slovenian minority, which inspired so many of his works of art would be preserved. There are many other broad minded Germans beside him. Unfortunately, however, the German people have one weakness that is characteristic for them, namely, they are immediately disarmed whenever someone invokes German nationalism. This weakness had in recent times helped Hitler to take over. The majority of Carinthian Germans privately condemned the excesses against the bilingual inscriptions and the Slovenians in general, but it failed to take a resolute stand against the bravado of their own chauvinists. Bravado? If, for instance, those bigots attempted to abuse a Russian minority in this way one could perhaps consider this if not a bravado, a foolhardy course of action in any case. However, to pick upon someone who is much weaker is cowardly and base.

"To this laxity of the honest Germans is attributed the success of the German chauvinists' devious maneuvers that brought about the intended census. This census which under present circumstances represents a crass intimidation on our minority is a base barbarism against which we direct our indignant protest."

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PROVISIONS OF NEW LAW ON ACQUIRING CITIZENSHIP OUTLINED

Zabreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Oct 76 p 5

[Article by Milivoj Stipanovic]

[Text] The new law on Yugoslav citizenship, which is in the stage of final adoption in the Yugoslav Assembly, will be applied from the beginning of 1977. In that manner it will fulfill the constitutional provision which stipulates that that area is to be regulated by the federation. In accomplishing the constitutional principles, the law will establish an equal citizenship for all Yugoslav citizens. That citizenship will be unified with citizenship in a republic and both will be acquired simultaneously. Every citizen of our land will have both republic and federal Yugoslav citizenship. One without the other is impossible both in the acquisition and in the renunciation.

Four Methods for Acquiring Citizenship

In contrast to the previous law under which the decision on granting and denial of citizenship was made by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the new law transfers this responsibility to the appropriate republic organs. Yugoslav citizenship may be acquired in four ways: by ancestry, by birth on Yugoslav territory, by naturalization, and by international agreement. A child acquires Yugoslav citizenship by ancestry if both its parents are Yugoslav citizens at the time of birth, or if one parent is a Yugoslav citizen and it is born on Yugoslav territory, as well as when it is born abroad with one Yugoslav parent and one parent without citizenship. A child also acquires citizenship when it is born on Yugoslav territory, but both its parents are unknown to it, or their citizenship is unknown, or they have no citizenship. Such a child shall lose the status of a Yugoslav citizen if by its 14th birthday it is determined that its parents are foreign nationals. Citizenship is also acquired by ancestry by birth in Yugoslavia and by naturalization on the basis of international agreements.

The law also foresees situations where a foreigner might acquire Yugoslav citizenship. He must submit a preliminary request which will be granted if the following conditions are met: he must have reached the age of 18 years; he must have a release from his previous citizenship or submit evidence that such a release will be granted if he receives Yugoslav citizenship; prior to submitting the request he must reside in Yugoslavia without interruption for 3 years; and, finally, by his behavior he must convey the impression that he would be a loyal citizen.

Together with Yugoslav citizenship a foreigner would acquire republic citizenship, and he himself would determine which republic he would belong to. If, however, a foreigner had married a person who was a Yugoslav citizen, he would not have to satisfy the condition of attaining the age of 18 years, nor the length of residence in Yugoslavia, nor submit evidence of release from his previous citizenship.

#### Conflicting Regulations

The same regulations apply to our emigres and members of their families. Also, the child of parents who have acquired Yugoslav citizenship by naturalization receives the same status if it is less than 18 years of age. A similar procedure takes place when only one parent has acquired Yugoslav citizenship by naturalization and the child has been born in Yugoslavia. For a child born abroad, a request must be submitted by both parents. In all cases, when a child reaches the age of 14, it must agree to the requested citizenship.

Conflicting regulations to decide possible clashes between republic laws on citizenship are also of interest. The republic citizenship is determined according to the allegiance of the parents at the time of birth. If the parents have different citizenship in republics, the child shall be a citizen of the republic in which it is born, if one of the parents has that republic citizenship. A child shall also acquire the citizenship of the republic in which it is born if the two parents do not have citizenship of the republic but have not agreed which republic citizenship the child shall take.

When a child is born abroad, and the parents have different republic citizenship, the child shall be granted the citizenship that the parents determine. If they do not make such an agreement, the child shall become a citizen of the republic in which official records it is entered for birth certification.

#### Renunciation of Citizenship

In accordance with the General Declaration on the Rights of Man, adopted in 1948, the institution of renunciation of citizenship shall be preserved, and the law also provides for the possibility of withdrawing citizenship. That is foreseen only in extraordinary circumstances, for persons who have other

citizenship, who have long been absent from the country, and who by their activities cause harm to the international or other interests of Yugoslavia and fail to fulfill the duties of citizens. Activities considered to be harmful to the interests of Yugoslavia include membership in organizations that seek to work against the constitutional order, provision of services to foreign governments against the express prohibition of the appropriate authorities, behavior abroad that causes serious harm to the vital interests of Yugoslavia, and expression of determination to renounce loyalty to Yugoslavia.

One of the foundations of the law is that a citizen of one republic has equal rights and responsibilities on the territory of another republic as those of that republic's citizens. The bases for acquiring and losing Yugoslav citizenship are uniform. Confirmation of uniform bases and conditions for acquiring Yugoslav citizenship are found in the constitutional principle according to which there is uniform citizenship for the citizens of Yugoslavia. The constitution provides for both republic citizenship and federal Yugoslav citizenship. The concept and the essence of the constitutional provisions concerning citizenship are that the two cannot exist separately, or one without the other, and therefore one does not derive from the other. The drafts of republic laws on citizenship have adopted this conception for regulating Yugoslav citizenship, and the Socialist Republic of Montenegro has already adopted such a law.

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